'HOUSEHOLD CLASS', THE STATE AND PUBLIC ATTITUDES TO WELFARE'

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Declaration

I hereby declare that whilst registered as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy with the Council for National Academic Awards. I have not be a registered candidate for another award of the Council nor of a University.

The following activities comprising the programme of related studies have been undertaken:

1. Continuous and intensive studies in social statistics.

2. Participation in the 1987 Essex Summer School in Social Science Research Methods.

3. A course of reading guided by the supervisors.

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ABSTRACT

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Two specific shifts have occurred in the sectoral bases of welfare provision in the UK since the last war. The first involved in establishment of collective state provision whilst the second has involved a significant expansion of owner occupation.

These developments have been interpreted at various times as signifying substantial changes in the nature of British society, particularly in the way that they are alleged to have attenuated class based social divisions and patterns of consciousness. In contemporary debates, owner occupation is alleged to have generated a conservative domestic oriented attitudinal disposition among manual households. Further, such households are held to be profoundly disaffected from state welfare as a result of their experiences as clients in this sector.

The Plymouth study, which is reported below, was concerned with public attitudes to welfare. More specifically, its aim was to generate a data base which would enable the relative significance of sectoral patterns of welfare and household class as factors which influence the pattern of public attitudes to issues in social policy to be assessed. This aim was implemented by administering a structured questionnaire to a sample of 150 households in Plymouth.

Subsequent empirical and conceptual analyses generated three conclusions. First, people are dissatisfied with the experience of state welfare but it is the distributive impact of welfare which is of the greatest significance in the calculations of the average household. Second, sectoral patterns of welfare do influence public perceptions of issues in social policy, but in a modest and specific way. Third, household class remains the most significant determinant of access to welfare, public or private, and because of this, the most significant influence on the pattern of public attitudes to welfare.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

For many observers, the system of services and benefits that was established at the end of the last war signalled the development of a new kind of society. For the first time in history, the working classes would not have to rely on meagre provisions designed by middle class philanthropists and social reformers for purposes which did not simply involve meeting material needs. A number of observers (Marshall, 1949, Titmuss, 1970) subsequently saw great potential in the development of collective state provision. Major inequalities in welfare were to diminish and consequently, class based social antagonisms were to become moribund.

By the late 1970s, it was clear that these aspirations had not been met. Substantial levels of poverty had been rediscovered (Coates and Silburn, 1973, Townsend, 1979) and industrial strife was a significant feature of British politics. Further, the value of collective welfare provision was being called into question (Golding and Middleton, 1982, Golding, 1983). The resolution of some of the problems which faced British society at this time was the promise of Thatcherism. Some observers saw this in epochal terms (Hall, 1979, 1982). The Thatcher government was intent on rolling back the state and restoring power to individuals and their families by 'encouraging' participation in private welfare.

A significant expansion of working class owner occupation signified to some observers that this aim was being met. One in particular (Saunders, 1984, 1990) presented this development in terms similar to descriptions of the positive potential of state provision. Although a significant minority were excluded, citizenship was being conferred on working people not through collective provision but by the building societies and with the assistance of state housing subsidies. This had generated new forms of social cleavage which were becoming more significant than those based on class. It seemed, then, that private welfare was achieving what collective state provision had originally set out to do.

This thesis is concerned primarily with the relationship between patterns of welfare provision and popular perceptions of issues in welfare. Patterns of welfare can be understood in terms of their 'sectoral' and 'social' dimensions. The use of the term 'sectoral' here denotes the extent to which the state or the market are involved in specific areas of provision whilst the term 'social' centres on the distribution of welfare resources between households in different social categories.

The four approaches discernable in the literature which relates to the relationship between patterns of welfare and popular perceptions of issues in social policy, and which generated the concerns which were investigated through the Plymouth study, are discussed below. The first three of these emphasize the capacity of sectoral patterns of welfare that are underpinned by state fiscal policy to influence public attitudes whilst the fourth emphasized the continuing significance of a specific social pattern, the distribution of welfare resources by household class.

The idea that sectoral patterns of welfare have the capacity to influence public perceptions of welfare, and in a way which modifies the effect of social class, was developed in the works of Marshall (1949) and Titmuss (1970). For the latter, in particular, direct state provision of universal social services by the state had the capacity to diminish the selfish egoism of the market and to enhance behaviour based on altruism and moral principle (Titmuss, 1970, p 212, Boulding, 1973, p 193). The net result would be a flow of resources from the affluent and wealthy to the underprivileged and deprived.

However, the evidence on the distributive impact of the welfare state indicates that this goal has yet to be realized. Whilst a small overall redistributive effect results from the benefits in cash and kind which constitute the welfare state (Spicker, 1988, p 119), middle class households continue to occupy a privileged position as users of universal services such as the NHS and state education (Walters, 1980, Le Grand, 1982, Goodin and Le Grand, 1987). In view of this, the first aim of the Plymouth study was to generate data which would enable two distinct but related issues to be discussed and evaluated.

First, to what extent does participation in the universal state social services serve to modify perceptions of welfare which are generated by social class? Second, what are the motivational bases of middle class support for the universal services? The evidence indicates that the faith which Titmuss had in the capacity of the state to modify class related interests and behaviour was misplaced.

More recently, a growing volume of literature has emphasized the way that participation in private welfare which is underpinned by state fiscal subsidies allegedly generated conservative attitudinal effects among manual households (Pahl, 1984, Dunleavy and Husbands, 1985, Saunders, 1990). Dunleavy (1980), for instance, emphasizes the importance of ideological structures and the way that these relate to the sectoral bases of welfare provision. The Conservative Party is publicly associated with private welfare and therefore appeals to owner occupiers of all classes. Conversely, Saunders (1990) emphasizes the material advantages that owner occupiers enjoy and the way that these generate attitudinal effects. By giving people a 'stake in the country' (through capital gains) (1990, p 120) and by satisfying a 'deep and natural desire' (by conferring security, freedom and autonomy) (1990, p 69), owner occupation encourages a conservative outlook among working class households. This may manifest itself in Conservative voting or in a total disregard for participation in political processes. An emphasis on the latter is evident in reporting of Pahl's recent study of working class households on the Isle of Sheppey in Kent (1984). The growth of working class affluence and consumption in private welfare is used as an analytical device to explain what is seen as a decline in support for the Labour Party among manual households, manifested as a 'class de-alignment' in voting behaviour (Dunleavy, 1980, Dunleavy and Husbands, 1985).

These arguments are sometimes linked to what is seen as the growth of working class privatism (Lukes, 1984), a phrase which was coined by Goldthorpe and his colleagues (1968) when they distinguished between traditional proletarian and privatized workers. However, the second aim of the Plymouth study was not to address the issue of working class privatism per se but was to assess the

significance of a specific pattern of welfare which is supported by state fiscal subsidies in terms of its influence on working class perceptions of issues in welfare. This was accomplished by applying a particular operationalization of the variable 'consumption sector' (Dunleavy, 1979, 1980) in the Plymouth survey.

An alternative development in the reporting and theorizing of developments in welfare has involved an emphasis on the way in which the provision of services and benefits by the state has influenced working class perceptions of welfare in quite another way. This literature is concerned with the way in which people experience state welfare and not with its distributive impact.

This shift in focus was initiated by the right in the 1970s in work which emphasized the deleterious consequences of a lack of 'choice' in state welfare (Harris and Seldon, 1979). From an alternative perspective, a number of observers responded to these arguments and the importance they had assumed as a result of political developments through work which emphasized the importance of 'voice' and 'control' in state welfare services (LEWRG, 1981, Deacon, 1983, Walker, 1984). There are two specific ways in which the state is alleged to generate uncongenial experiential effects for the users of state services. First, these services are based on hierarchical bureaucratic and professional modes of organisation which allow users very little voice or control (Deacon, 1983, Walker, 1984). Second, stigmatizing ideological categories which are generated in the wider society are applied and reproduced through these modes of organisation (Ginsburg, 1979, Hyde and Deacon, 1986).

According to this approach, it is the attitudinal effect among working class households that is important. Middle class households are assumed to have either access to private welfare or a superior experience of state welfare. Working class households, on the other hand, were profoundly disaffected from services provided by the state and were prepared to express electoral support for a party which held out the promise of facilitating 'exit' by enabling people to participate in extended private services (Jacobs, 1982, Deacon, 1983, Hall, 1984, Walker, 1984). In view of this argument, the third aim of

the Plymouth study was to generate data which would enable two problems to be discussed and evaluated. First, what is the nature of public perceptions of the experience of consumption in state welfare services? Is it true, for instance, that people have a preference for 'exit' and participation in private welfare, as suggested by Harris and Seldon (1979), or would they prefer a democratic reform of existing state services aimed at enhancing 'voice' and 'control' among users of the kind advocated in recent Labour Party publications (Labour Party, 1989a, 1989b). Second, how significant is the relationship between perceptions of the experience of consumption in state welfare and the motivational bases of political behaviour? Is it the case, for instance, that Conservative electoral successes from 1979 to 1987 can be explained in terms of working class disaffection from state provided social services?

A fourth approach to the relationship between patterns of welfare and public perceptions of issues in social policy is different from the three which have been reviewed so far in that its focus is the unequal distribution of access to welfare in the UK, public or private, which is generated by the class structure.

Class analysts take as their analytical starting point divisions which are generated in the workplace; divisions which centre on relations of exploitation (Wright, 1980, 1985) or which result from differences in occupational status and income (Goldthorpe and Hope, 1974, Marshall et al, 1988). These divisions assume a wider social significance when they come to be reflected in cultural differences (Spicker, 1988), in patterns of physical well being (Whitehead, 1987) and in access to life chance generating resources. In this respect, it has already been noted that class based divisions are reflected in the distributive impact of the benefits in cash and kind which are provided by the state (Le Grand, 1982, Goodin and Le Grand, 1987). According to this approach, therefore, it is social rather than sectoral patterns of welfare which are the most significant influence on patterns of stratification in the UK. Because of this, it is argued that household class is the most significant predictor of social and political attitudes (Wright, 1985, Marshall et al, 1988).

However, the nature of the class structure in the UK has changed under the impact of changes in the international division of labour and a major shift in the sectoral bases of British industry (Rose, 1984) with the result that the manual working class is smaller whilst the range of middle class occupations has expanded. It is this rather than shifts in the sectoral boundaries of welfare provision which has generated long term electoral problems for the Labour Party (Heath et al, 1985, Halsey, 1986).

Furthermore, and in view of this substantial shift in the composition of the class structure, it has been argued that conceptions of class which are based on a distinction between manual and non-manual labour are not appropriate devices for evaluating the effects of household class in Britain. For instance, they are considered to be insensitive to economic and hence social variation in non-manual occupations. Wright (1985) in particular, is eager to demonstrate that non-manual workers in 'degraded' occupations should be classified as workers.

These arguments defined the fourth aim of the Plymouth study which was to generate data which would enable two issues to be discussed and evaluated. First, how significant is the influence of household class on perceptions of issues in welfare and how does this compare with the influence of alternative lines of cleavage such as those based on consumption sector? Second, what kinds of social class schemes are more appropriate devices with which to classify the population of the UK, and therefore, to generate a better understanding of the way in which public perceptions of issues in welfare are generated?

Finally, the Plymouth study was not concerned to establish a relationship between patterns of stratification and patterns of consciousness per se. Such a link has already been established by others working in this field (Goldthorpe, 1968, Bulmer et al, 1975, Wright, 1985, Marshall, 1988, Saunders, 1990). Rather, it was concerned with public attitudes which relate to the distribution of specific resources between households in the UK and to the experience of state fiscal and institutional arrangements which were

developed to provide for conditions which are recognized as collective responsibilities. The few attitudes to welfare studies which were reported during the course of the 1980s did not establish a link between patterns of stratification and these attitudes specifically. Consequently, much of the theoretical work on class and attitudes to welfare which has been produced by academics, journalists and state workers must be regarded as speculative (Deacon, 1983, Walker, 1984, Hall, 1984a, 1984b).

The Structure of the thesis

This thesis is a presentation of these concerns, the way in which they were investigated and the results and conclusions which this research activity generated. The structure of this presentation is outlined below in order to facilitate a reading.

The main concerns of the study and the associated literature are developed in greater detail in Chapter Two. In addition, an assessment of the limited research based evidence is provided.

A structured questionnaire which was designed around these concerns was administered to a sample of social collectivities in Plymouth. Furthermore, a certain amount of qualitative data was generated through this process.

Empirical studies of attitudes to welfare have developed a quantitative methodological bias and for good reasons. The study of attitudes as an aspect of mass political behaviour involves the analysis of large scale data sets, particularly when inter-group comparisons are involved. Moreover, because the object of such studies is 'political' it is sometimes necessary to use data which presents a snapshot in time. The quantitative approach of the survey method enables a large number of systematic observations to be recorded across a range of standardized situations within a relatively short time period. It is in this light that the choice of method through which the concerns of the Plymouth study were investigated should be seen. A detailed account of the way these concerns were operationalized and fielded is presented in Chapter Three.

According to one set of arguments, the principal defining characteristic of the current political conjuncture is the significance of working class conservatism, manifested as Conservative voting (Dunleavy, 1980, 1985) or as a total lack of interest in politics (Pahl, 1984, Pahl and Wallace, 1986) and resulting from affluence and participation in private welfare. Plymouth was an ideal setting in which to implement research aimed at addressing this and other issues because its' socio-economic characteristics are not unlike those of the UK as a whole. Furthermore, Plymouth has followed a similar pattern of development in terms of the principal economic and social trends which evolved in the UK over the course of the post-war period. The City's socio-economic characteristics are considered in Chapter Four, where they are related to patterns of voting at local elections which were held at various points during the 1980s. If Conservative public policy during the 1980s was geared to the interests of skilled manual households, this wasn't reflected in their voting behaviour, at least in Plymouth. The likelihood of such households voting Conservative by the end of the 1980s was significantly reduced.

In Chapter Five, the characteristics of the sample which was generated during fieldwork are discussed and evaluated according to two criteria. First, to what extent did these characteristics meet the aims of the study? In general, these aims were met although two particular groups, occupational class 3N and manual owner occupiers, were under-represented. Second, to what extent was the sample representative of Plymouths' population on a range of socio-economic characteristics? A comparison of the two distributions indicated that the sample was broadly if not exactly representative.

The principal reservation about the characteristics of the sample resulted from the observation that unskilled non-manual workers were under-represented. In view of this, the attitudinal responses of this group in the sample may have been unrepresentative.

Chapter Six is based on the results of a series of exploratory analyses which were initiated with a view to evaluating two issues. First the results of these analyses were used to evaluate the claim that the provision of universal social services by the state has the

capacity to influence perceptions of welfare, and in a way which modifies the influence of social class. Second, they were used to generate a picture of the structure of public perceptions of the process of consumer participation in state welfare.

It is demonstrated that participation in the NHS does generate an independent attitudinal effect. This was indicated by the attitudinal homogeneity which was expressed in responses to a number of issues in health care. However, attitudinal polarization emerged in responses to a wider range of issues in health care and this polarization was significantly related to occupational class differences among respondents. This suggested, pace Titmuss, that the capacity of the state to generate independent attitudinal effects through the provision of social services is limited.

It is also demonstrated in Chapter Six that unfavourable perceptions of the experience of consumption in state social services is widespread when people are questioned on this issue. However, it is the 'use' of services which is associated with preferences for reform. For instance, non-manual respondents favoured policies aimed at enhancing consumer voice in the NHS but were opposed to reform of a 'user friendly' nature in state housing and social security provision. Preferences for policy, then were clearly linked to household interests.

Chapter Seven presents a picture of the ideas and values which people associate with issues in welfare, a picture which was generated from a series of analyses of the qualitative data which was collected during the fieldwork stage of the Plymouth study. Two concerns prompted this exercise. First, it was necessary to provide a comment on the sociological and hence political significance of the patterns in the quantitative data. This was accomplished through an assessment of the salience of a range of issues in welfare to respondents. Second, the analyses were aimed at evaluating the extent to which the nature of expressed values varies by household class.

The discussion which is developed in Chapter Seven indicates that these analyses were a useful exercise, and for two reasons. First, they demonstrated that some issues in welfare were more important to respondents than others. More specifically, they indicated that the significance of the experience of consumption in state welfare to people was overstated in some of the literature which dealt with social policy issues in the 1980s. Second, the analyses of qualitative data demonstrated that values that relate to welfare and particularly to its distributive impact do indeed vary by household class and in a way which would be expected. To someone who was concerned to demonstrate that philosophical debates about freedom, equality and the appropriate role of the state have a practical and meaningful relevance outside of the centres of policy-making and the intellectual pursuit of professional sociologists, these results were particularly gratifying.

The discussion which is presented in Chapter Eight is based on an evaluation of two specific arguments in the light of the Plymouth survey data. First, the claim that new lines of social cleavage based on access to consumption in private welfare are now more significant than class based divisions in terms of their influence on public perceptions of issues in welfare is assessed. Second, the assertion that a Marxist conception of social class based on 'the social relations of production' is a better predictor of attitudes to welfare than one which relies simply on a description of occupational titles is discussed and evaluated.

The empirical object of these evaluations was the results of a series of multi-variate statistical analyses which were aimed at establishing the significance of the associations between a range of specific classification variables and attitudes to inequalities in welfare. The inferences which these analyses facilitated enables two specific conclusions to be arrived at. First, participation in private welfare has a discernable conservative influence on the attitudinal disposition of manual households, but the overall class effect is stronger. Second, both Marxist and occupational class classification schemes have a high level of explanatory power vis a vis attitudes to welfare but the latter appears to generate results which are more significant.

Manual and non-manual occupations appear to be an enduring and significant source of values in contemporary British society.

Finally, the evidence on class attitudes and values is related to evidence about the distributive impact of welfare and the influence of the middle classes on the development of British social policy. Four arguments are presented in the final chapter.

First, the significance of the experience of consumption for public perceptions of issues in welfare has been overstated. The distributive impact of welfare is the principal consideration of many households in the UK.

Second, the capacity of state facilitated shifts in the sectoral boundaries of welfare to modify prevailing class inequalities is limited. Significant class related inequalities are apparent in the consumption of the universal state social services and in owner occupation. It is class rather than consumption which generates the structure of inequality in the UK. It is not surprising, therefore, that household class generates significant differences in public perceptions of issues in welfare.

Third, the middle classes have been a significant influence on the development of British social policy. The mechanisms through which this influence is transmitted must remain the object of speculation since there is little evidence on this issue. However, middle class interests are reflected in the historical pattern of policy development and this is no less true of the social policy of the present Conservative government. In the main, the values and policy preferences of middle class households accord with the direction that Conservative social policy has taken.

Fourth, the extent of class inequality in the distribution of welfare resources in the UK by the end of this decade will obviously depend on which political party has had the opportunity to frame and implement social policy from the vantage point of central government. Both major parties are informed by radically different value systems. However, an assessment of the practical approaches of the

Conservative and Labour Parties to social policy and of the forces which promote or inhibit specific policy outcomes indicates that the scope of inequality at the end of the decade will fall within a small range of possibilities ranging from very unequal to extremely unequal. The welfare state has certain rigidities which result from the enduring importance of social class to political processes in the UK.

CHAPTER TWO

CAPITALISM, THE STATE AND PUBLIC ATTITUDES TO WELFARE

The state appears to be out of fashion as an agency for enhancing welfare in modern Britain. This much is reflected in a substantial and growing volume of social science literature. First a number of economists and political scientists have criticized the moral basis of state welfare provision, arguing for a return to market based modes of provision on the right (Harris and Seldon, 1979, Minford, 1987) and for a revitalization of the institutions of civil society as an alternative to the state on the left (Keane, 1988). The moral critique of the state in welfare provision therefore cuts across traditional boundaries of left and right in analyses of social welfare.

This is reflected in practical political developments involving the emergence of a powerful and allegedly anti-statist movement at the level of central government and a self critical response of the Labour Party Leadership. The critique of the state which was and continues to be advanced by the Thatcher government has developed in two phases. The first involved an attack on public expenditure as being inefficient, wasteful and catering for an assortment of 'layabouts' and 'scroungers' who needed the discipline inherent in an exposure to market forces (Golding and Middleton, 1982). The second and current phase involves a critique of the process of consumer participation in state welfare and an argument for radical reform to enhance the position of consumers. The Thatcher government wants to portray itself as the friend of the consumer and this is reflected in the 1988 Housing Act, which aims to extend the market through both owner occupation and the private rented sector (Ginsburg, 1989) and in the 1988 Health Service White Paper which proposes an internal market for the N.H.S. (Petchey, 1988, Rea, 1988).

The Labour Party leadership, for its part, has responded by arguing for revitalised democratic structures to be instituted in state welfare services (Labour Party, 1989a, 1989b). It seems, therefore,

that consumer participation may have displaced expenditure as the central focus of party political debates about welfare provision in the U.K.

Sociologists of welfare have attempted to explain the politics of welfare in the 1980s in terms of underlying economic and social developments. There are differences between approaches in terms of underlying assumptions, however. Some approaches assert that the rise of working class consumption has led many working class voters to adopt social and political attitudes which favour public policies aimed at extending the private sector of welfare provision. New social divisions based on affluence and status have superseded the old class divisions in terms of the way in which group social identities are formed. It is frequently asserted that the primary social division which underlies contemporary welfare politics involves a distinction between a growing majority of the population which has access to private forms of welfare and a shrinking majority of the population which remains totally dependent on public welfare and which continues to support the party of collective welfare provision, the Labour Party.

Conversely, alternative approaches to the study of welfare politics insist that social class remains central to this process but point out that the class structure itself has changed substantially over the course of the post war period. In particular, the manual working class has significantly declined in size. Meanwhile, new layers in the class structure have appeared. In terms of social analysis, this has led to a considerable amount of activity on the part of some analysts in reconceptualising class with a view to achieving a better fit between the sociological understanding of social class and current social and political realities.

Section One of this chapter reviews different aspects of the two dimensions of welfare provision, expenditure and participation, and presents the evidence of attitude surveys which have been concerned with the issues involved.

Section Two reviews recent social science debates about social formation and the class structure and in particular debates about the way in which the latter influences the nature of the former. Section three reviews those social scientific approaches to social structure which have looked at the way in which affluence and private consumption have allegedly erroded traditional class based divisions in the UK. Section Four examines the response of those social scientists who believe that class remains central to the politics of welfare and at attempts to re-conceptualize social class in response to perceived changes in the class structure.

Section One: Two Dimensions of Welfare Provision

In previous studies of public attitudes to welfare, analyses have tended to focus on the financial aspects of welfare provision. Thus studies have looked at preferences for levels of public spending on services, at preferences for the balance between public and private sector finance of welfare and at public evaluations of services and benefits for specific sections of the population. More recently, some theories of welfare have focussed on the notion of consumer participation as a basis for explaining recent developments in the welfare state. This focus on participation has extended the range of issues which need to be included in the study of public attitudes about the welfare state.

Public expenditure is central to social welfare in the U.K., although the way it operates in this sphere takes different forms. Policymakers use direct and indirect subsidies to balance between competing claims and priorities reflecting on the one hand competing distributional values and on the other, the fact that material resources in the U.K. are unequally distributed. The role of public expenditure in social welfare is often presented as involving a choice between interventionism and non-interventionism (Titmus, 1970, George and Wilding, 1976, Mishra, 1981). This is a fallacy which results from an observation of 'formal' ideological debate. In reality, public expenditure is implicated in all aspects of social welfare. Seen in this light the dilemmas facing welfare policy-makers focus on the 'form' a subsidy should take and on the 'target' section of society at

which the subsidy should be directed. For instance, the current Conservative government enthusiastically advocates 'non-interventionism' in welfare, whilst putting a much greater emphasis on tax subsidies (which amount to a public provision of private welfare) than previous governments (Papadikis and Taylor Gooby, 1987, Keegan, 1990). In reality, it seems that 'non-interventionism' amounts to 'hidden' state welfare.

It was widely believed during the 1950s and 1960s by politicians and academics alike that the basic principles underlying the organisation of public expenditure to meet welfare needs were uncontentious. This was the so-called period of consensus politics or Butskellism where both Conservative and Labour governments increased expenditure in real terms on the universal social services, on publicly provided housing and on specific social security benefits (Taylor Gooby, 1985, pp55-58). This cosy assumption of consensus was allegedly shattered during the 1970s by the effects of industrial decline (Harrison and Glyn, 1979), deteriorating industrial relations (Hyman, 1972) and the intensification of ideological conflict at the party political level and at the centres of policy making about the role and detail of welfare policy (Taylor Gooby, 1985, pp59-61). The Conservative party came to be dominated by figures whose approach to policy owed more to the ideas of Hayek and Friedman than to those of Keynes and Beveridge. These figures and their ideas were heavily promoted by sections of the national press during this period and it has been argued that this combination of events and new ideas resulted in the success of the Thatcherite Conservative Party at the 1979 general election (Golding and Middleton, 1982) and subsequently in 1983 and 1987.

If the 1970's can be seen as something of a watershed in the politics of welfare, it has been argued that public policy in the 1980's has involved a reversal of the values and principles which underpinned the development of the post-war welfare state (Mishra 1984). This is certainly reflected in the statements which have been made by leading Conservative politicians to justify the restructuring of public expenditure in the field of social welfare. For instance, in

referring to the balance between 'individual' and 'collective' responsibility for welfare, the Prime Minister argued that:

> 'the state must never become so great that it effectively removes personal responsibility. The same applies to taxation, for while you and I would work extremely hard whatever the circumstances, there are undoubtedly some who would not unless the incentive was there'.

(Margaret Thatcher, address to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1989).

Similarly, in promoting subsidies for private pension schemes at the expense of the State Earnings Related Pension Scheme, John Moore stated:

> 'our aim is to allow personal initiative to flourish unhindered by the state ... A well ordered market responding to the forces of demand and competition and which enables individuals to select the type of pension that suits them best, is an important and visible symbol of our overall philosophy.'

(John Moore, 26 September 1987)

Rolling back direct state provision in social welfare and fostering the development of private alternatives are the central elements of the Thatcher governments' attitude to the welfare state and are reflected in practical policy developments in most areas of welfare. Thus real social security and unemployment benefit levels have been repeatedly cut (Alcock, 1981, Alcock, 1983, Bull and Wilding, 1983), the sale of public sector housing has been heavily subsidized (Ginsburg, 1981, Stoker, 1985) although no plans for new building are in evidence and state provided education and health care have been eroded at the edges (Thunhurst, 1983, David, 1983, Taylor Gooby, 1985), while the private sector in these two areas has been encouraged (Papadikis and Taylor Gooby, 1987). In short, welfare for the middle classes and for the securely employed working class has burgeoned at the expense of welfare for the deprived.

The connection between these policy changes and public attitudes lies in the argument that the former have followed and resulted in some way from changes in the latter. The main themes in this area

are succinctly summarised by Golding and Middleton (1982, p205):

> The argument ... in outline is as follows ... The early promise of the welfare state has not been fulfilled ... the failure of the welfare state is common ground across the political spectrum. Of the available diagnoses those that emphasise the damaging burden of welfare expenditure and the abuse of social security ... have received privileged authority ... Economic crisis has liberated a full scale assault on the welfare consensus which was, in fact, never very firmly attached to popular consciousness.

Golding and Middleton (1982) and Deacon (1977, 1978) focus their analyses on public attitudes to social security provision and the poor, constructing a case which belongs to the tradition of sociological work on 'moral panics' (Pearson, 1983). In their conception, the poor state of the British economy during the 1970s generated public disquiet, particularly among those on lower incomes; a disquiet, which was cynically and successfully manipulated by media which were sympathetic to 'right-wing' elements in the Conservative party. Social security provision, and the abuse of it by claimants, were singled out as 'demons' underlying an ineffective welfare state and a weak economy. Public concern about social security scroungers provided an opening for the neo-liberal conservatives and their representatives in the media to launch a full scale ideological assault on state welfare expenditure generally (Golding and Middleton, 1982).

The empirical evidence which Golding and Middleton present to support the argument that people hold unfavourable opinions about social security expenditure and claimants is impressive but the observer must look to alternative and more recent sources to get a fuller picture of public attitudes about welfare expenditure.

We can start by looking at data concerned with public attitudes to public spending on welfare services and benefits. The evidence supports the argument that public opinion become increasingly less favourable to government spending up to the 1979 general election and so is consonant with practical political developments in that period of time. Table One contains data which are taken from three British Election Studies (Sarlvik and Crewe, 1983, pp169, 170, 191, 193). These are surveys of social and political attitudes which are

conducted around the time of general elections. In 1974, a majority of respondents to the survey supported more public spending on welfare.

By 1979, nearly half of the respondents surveyed were in favour of cuts in public spending on welfare services. However, this trend of growing support for cuts, appears to have petered out during the 1980s. Table Two contains data taken from the 'British Social Attitudes' series (Jowell and Airey, 1984; Jowell, Witherspoon and Brook, 1989) and it is broadly comparable to the data in Table One in that it is based on a national sample and that the questions in both tables are similar. For both years, 1983 and 1987, support among respondents for cuts in public spending on welfare was minimal and declined during this period. Conversely, support for increased spending grew by fifteen per cent.

Golding and Middleton's argument that public spending on welfare is seen by the public as a burden may have been true in the early 1980s but this no longer appears to be the situation. However, more recent studies do lend support to their argument in so far as it relates to social security benefits of the unemployed. For instance, between sixty and seventy per cent of respondents to the surveys conducted for the British Social Attitudes series between 1983 and 1987 agreed with the statement that 'large numbers of people these days falsely claim benefits' (Jowell, Witherspoon and Brook, 1989). Taylor Gooby (1985, 1986) obtained similar results from his surveys. These attitudes are, however, directed at welfare scroungers. Individuals, who are seen as 'genuinely' unemployed appeared to elicit a substantial amount of public sympathy (Jowell and Airey, 1984; Jowell, Witherspoon and Brook 1989) and a willingness on the part of the public to pay more in taxes to finance increased state benefits (Mack and Lansley, 1985).

There is little evidence to demonstrate that members of the public feel that the public provision of welfare acts as a disincentive for people to make their own arrangements in this area or indeed that people should be encouraged to make such arrangements, although sixty percent of the respondents to Taylor Gooby's 1982 survey

(1985) agreed with the statement that 'the system of taxes and benefits, that many people call the welfare state saps the will to work'.

As far as the balance between direct public provision and public finance of private provision is concerned the evidence indicates that a 'substantial' minority of the population are in favour of the government promoting private provision in health care, pensions (Taylor Gooby, 1985) and housing (Jowell and Airey, 1984). However, there is evidence to support the view that those respondents to surveys who support a government aided expansion of private welfare would not support a decline in the size of the public sector (Taylor Gooby, 1986). Rather, it would seem that these respondents would like to have the best of both worlds. Notwithstanding, the evidence regarding public attitudes to government subsidies for private welfare is slim, particularly with regard to the way in which such subsidies actually operate (ie., they favour privileged groups).

The notion of 'participation' emerged in debates about the politics of welfare because it was felt that the quality of services had been overlooked as a factor which guided the way in which members of the public evaluate the welfare state. Participation is distinct from expenditure in that it refers to the involvement of clients of the welfare state in the actual process of consumption. In this light, the central political question is not 'how much do people get', but 'how is what they get administered?'

Rowe (1978, p47) an ex-director of community affairs at the Conservative Central office lists four elements of participation, three of which are relevant to this discussion. First, he argues that participation involves the power to direct the organisation both as to its goals and as to the means of achieving them. Second, he argues that it involves the power to direct it as to its goals but not as to the means of achieving them. Third, he argues it involves the power to advise on either goals or means without the power to direct them. What is missing in Rowe's definition of participation is the notion of 'consumer choice' which has been so central to recent political debates concerned with participation. Papadikis (1987 p.468) makes good

this omission in his model of consumer participation which is based on concepts borrowed from political science, particularly 'choice', 'voice' and 'control'.

Choice refers to decisions which are made between various possibilities in the light of available information concerning costs and benefits. It therefore refers to the process involved at the initial point of contact with welfare services. It refers to the extent to which individuals are able to exercise choice within the welfare state (say between GPs or housing estates) and between private and public agencies of provision. It refers also to the extent to which individuals want to exercise choice within or between sectors of provision (Papadikis, 1987, p469).

Voice refers to the extent to which consumers of welfare services are able to consult and make themselves heard within a sector of provisions. It refers also to the extent to which consumers of welfare services desire consultation. This would include, for instance, a desire for more information about the way in which public services are run; a desire for some kind of machinery through which grievances and preferences could be expressed (Papadikis, 1987, p469).

Control refers to the arrangements which exist for decision making within a service and to the desire by consumers for change to be brought about to these arrangements. Such changes may include moves towards local government decentralisation or community based forms of education (Papadikis, 1987, p469).

Clearly, 'voice' and 'control' correspond to Rowe's elements of participation. Depending on the way in which clients experience and evaluate welfare services, they may adopt one of three attitudinal/behavioural dispositions to the service in question.

'Loyalty' is the disposition of those who are not dissatisfied with the service and who are quite happy with the service to continue operating in its current form (Hirschman, 1970, Birch, 1975). 'Innovation' is one particular response of those who are dissatisfied and involves a preference for changes which would bring about more choice, voice or control for users of the service, (Taylor Gooby, 1987, p469). 'Exit' is an alternative response of those who are dissatisfied with the service in question and involves a preference to participate in an alternative agency of provision such as one in the private sector (Taylor Gooby, 1987, p469).

The importance of distinguishing 'choice', 'voice' and 'control' becomes clearer in the light of party political debates about consumer participation in social welfare.

People vote in particular ways for many reasons. Nevertheless, the argument was seriously advanced in the early to mid 1980s from authors on both the right and the left that Conservative election victories in 1979 and 1983 resulted from mass public disaffection from public welfare services which were experienced as rigid, bureaucratic and paternalistic (Harris and Seldon, 1979, London Edinburgh Weekend Return Group, 1979. Deacon, 1983, 1985, Campbell, 1984, Walker, 1984, Hall, 1984a, 1984b, Held, 1985, Hyde and Deacon, 1986). This was an alternative theory of the rise of Thatcherism in that it emphasized public dissatisfaction with the 'consumption process' rather than dissatisfaction with the 'expenditure effects' of the welfare state. Whether the theory has any psephological utility or not, it is certainly clear that the two main political parties have used arguments about consumer participation in order to justify their social welfare policies. However, different aspects of this process are emphasized.

Conservative Party representatives emphasize the 'choice' aspect arguing that other aspects of participation will fall into line when consumers are able to express a preference for one among a number of providers at the initial point of contact. For instance, the White Paper which preceded the 1988 Housing Act makes a clear connection between a lack of consumer choice and the alleged poor quality of

council housing in the statement;

> 'There are still too many estates where the quality of life is less than satisfactory. It is not what tenants want, and it is not what the original designers of the estates had in mind. Tenants live there not from choice, but because they have nowhere else to live.' (Quoted in Ginsburg, 1988, p 65).

For Conservatives, the quality of consumer participation can be enhanced, ideally where a number of private providers are competing with each other (pure competition) or where the state is competing with private agencies (competitive tendering) or where there is competition between individual providers within a monopoly (internal market). At an ideal level Conservatives emphasize 'exit' and 'choice', in line with the market liberal assumptions which inform their approach to welfare.

Conversely, Labour Party policy makers advocate a political solution in that they emphasize 'innovation', 'voice' and 'control'. The recent policy review accepts that public evaluations of the process of consumer participation are central to the politics of welfare and advocates a strengthening of the democratic structure of services. For instance, the political process should;

> 'seek to give people a positive opportunity to shape services by political participation - in other words, give people a voice - rather than leaving them the choice of simple accepting or rejecting what is on offer, whether it be the market place or the town hall' (Labour Party, 1989a, p.31).

Both right and left accept that the quality of consumer participation in public services is low. In ideological terms, the options are exit and choice on the one hand and innovation, voice and control, on the other. This choice of options is also reflected in the social policy literature. To what extent is it reflected in public attitudes?

There is no shortage of data relating public attitudes about various aspects of public welfare expenditure. While theory and commentary abound, there is very little empirical data which would enable the claims which have been reviewed in this section to be substantiated in any depth.

A limited amount of evidence, which has been generated by two studies (Taylor Gooby, 1985; Jowell, Witherspoon and Brook, 1989) relates to three aspects of consumer participation and does not support the view that members of the public are disaffected as a result of their experiences as consumers of state welfare. This evidence relates to three services only; health care, education and old age pensions.

First, the evidence indicates the existence of a high level of satisfaction among the public with the way in which the universal social services are run. For instance, only 2.5 per cent of respondents to a survey conducted by Social and Community Planning Research in 1987 expressed dissatisfaction with the way the N.H.S. is run (Jowell, Witherspoon and Brook, 1989). Table Three contains figures which were generated by the same survey and these relate to expressed dissatisfaction with various aspects of the N.H.S. Very low levels of dissatisfaction were apparent.

Second, although satisfaction with the N.H.S. was high, the private sector is seen as superior in terms of consumer participation. In Taylor Gooby's 1985 survey (1985), respondents were asked if the state or the private sector were better in terms of a number of aspects similar to those in Table Three. Many respondents gave a neutral response but a small minority saw the private sector as better on most aspects.

Third, such evidence as exists indicates that consumer control in welfare provision may be an important issue, but the evidence relates to pensions for the elderly only. Taylor Gooby's 1985 survey presented questions to respondents which related to voice and control in the provision of occupational and state pensions. Forty eight per cent of respondents agreed that they would like more information about the way that the state pension scheme is run and fifty three per cent responded positively to the suggestion that they should have more of a say in the way the same scheme is run.

Section Two. The relative importance of alternative lines of social cleavage to the concerns of the Plymouth study.

The discussion which is presented in the remainder of this Chapter rests on the assumption that central socio-economic features of society generate consistent patterns of life chance effects for individuals which in turn influence patterns of consciousness. The way in which people evaluate welfare issues and policies is therefore contingent on their membership of sytematically structured social collectivities. The question is, what factors generate sociologically and politically significant social collectivities? There are three broad approaches to this issue.

First, one approach emphasises differences in household interests which are generated in the workplaces of household members. Marxists emphasize workplace based divisions which centre on specific social relations (Wright, 1977, 1979, 1980, 1985) whilst Weberians emphasize differences in the level of status and 'market capacity' which are associated with a range of occupations (Goldthorpe and Hope, 1974, Goldthorpe, 1983, Marshall et al, 1988). What both approaches share in common is an emphasis on household interests and a belief that these are generated through the (market) work situation of one or more household members.

Second, a number of authors have emphasized the importance of household interests which are generated through consumption in different sectors of welfare provision. Earlier writers emphasized the importance of consumption in welfare provided directly by the state (Marshall, 1949, Titmuss, 1970) whilst more contemporary analysts have pointed to the significance of consumption in private welfare which is partly financed by the state. What both of these approaches share in common is again an emphasis on household interests and a belief that vertical divisions between households are generated through consumption in a sectorally differentiated welfare state.

Third, an alternative set of arguments emphasizes the significance of social divisions which are based on differences between individuals; differences which are based on race and gender for

example. It is clear from an appraisal of the appropriate literature that social divisions based on race and gender are associated with significant differences in access to life chance generating resources, particularly secure and well paid employment (Hamnett, 1989, Goldthorpe, 1983, Marshall et al, 1988). Furthermore, the British welfare state both reflects and reinforces these inequalities (Campbell, 1984, Walker, 1984, Williams, 1988). It is clear that these inequalities are not reducible to verticle divisions between households, although the two are not entirely unrelated. However, they were not considered to be of importance to the aims of the Plymouth study, and for the following reasons.

First, whilst the possibility that social divisions based on ethnicity are associated with political behaviour cannot be ruled out, Plymouth's black population is extremely small. It was not feasible, therefore, to explore the possibility that such divisions generate variation in attitudes to welfare through the Plymouth study.

Second, the issue of gender divisions was not central to the debate about the relative importance of alternative lines of social cleavage which developed during the 1980s (Dunleavy, 1980, Dunleavy and Husbands, 1985, Saunders, 1984) and which generated the concerns of the Plymouth study. However, this in itself was not a sufficiently valid reason to disregard the possible significance of gender divisions when defining the parameters of these concerns.

Third, whilst gender divisions appear to be no less significant than vertical divisions between households in terms of access to employment and welfare, they do not appear to have a similar level of political significance. In this respect, it has been argued recently that the developing significance of a number of lines of social cleavage including one based on gender had served to fragment the class structure during the 1980s. According to this set of arguments, class has been replaced by pluralism and diversity (Hall and Jacques , 1989).

No evidence is produced in support of this claim, however. Furthermore, there seems to be no good empirical reasons to believe

that gender divisions assumed a position of greater significance during the 1980s as a factor which generates political behaviour and variation in attitudes to welfare, even though the economic and social policies of the Thatcher government appear to have jeopardized the interests of a significant number of working class women (Williams, 1988). Whilst this would be an interesting issue to investigate, the available evidence is not promising. Gender divisions are not as significantly associated with voting behaviour as vertical divisions between households. Furthermore, the evidence indicates that gender divisions do not generate significant variation in attitudes to welfare, even when the object of attitudinal evaluation is welfare issues which relate more clearly to women's interests (Taylor-Gooby, 1985). This observation was validated by the relative lack of statistical significance in the relationship between gender and attitudinal variation which emerged from the analyses of the Plymouth survey data.

Gender divisions do not appear to be significantly associated with the formation of attitudes to welfare, not because they are of less importance in material terms but because it seems that individuals come to perceive their interests vis a vis welfare as a result of belonging to households with specific sets of life chance generating circumstances. This observation is consonant with Goldthorpe's view of households as units of joint economic strategy (1983). In view of this, the central focus of the Plymouth study was vertical divisions between households and in particular, divisions based on class differences and on state facilitated variations in household consumption patterns.

Section Three. Citizenship and Welfare

A number of writers believe that citizenship has displaced or has the capacity to displace social class, both in terms of the way in which resources are distributed and in terms of the processes through which social and political attitudes are formed. Such a view was particularly evident among writers associated with the Fabian tradition in social administration, writers such as Marshall and Titmuss who believed that the extension of social rights through equal entitlement to state social services both modified prevailing market

generated inequalities and served as an integrating force in society.

i) Citizenship through state collectivism. The view that state action has the capacity to modify the social structure is exemplified by and central to what has been termed the 'Fabian' tradition in social administration (George and Wilding, 1976, Taylor Gooby and Dale, 1981, Deacon, 1985, Williams, 1988). This tradition has been characterized as atheoretical (Mishra, 1981, 1984) but it is based on clear assumptions about the relationship between the state, the market and social action.

As indicated by George and Wilding's now standard work, the dominant values of the Fabian reformist approach to social policy are 'equality', 'freedom' and 'fellowship' (1976, p.70). Fabians are therefore opposed to capitalist market inequalities which they see as unjust, socially divisive and in need of transformation. Central to this transformation is:

> 'the welfare state, with its commitment to the promotion of equality of opportunity, social harmony and redistribution of wealth, promotes material changes and wins people over to altruism and egalitarianism'. (Williams, 1988, P.30).

This view that state collectivism has the capacity to modify social structure and class antagonisms is particularly evident in the contributions of Marshall (1949) and Titmuss (1970).

In 'Citizenship and Social Class', Marshall charts the development of citizenship in advanced capitalist societies and how this has been promoted by the state. Citizenship is constituted by 'civil', 'political' and 'social' rights and it is the latter which are most relevant to the analysis of social welfare. Social rights are defined as involving:

> 'the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilised being according to the standards prevailing in the society' (1949, P.11)

State welfare is seen by Marshall as the vehicle to institute and sustain social rights and by so doing, integrating society. Citizenship generates:

> 'a direct sense of community membership based on loyalty to a civilization which is a common possession' (1949, P.40).

The extension of social rights modifies the social structure and generates a social harmony which militates against class based tensions and antagonisms. Marshall envisaged an ideal system with the state and the market functioning in harmony and in equal proportions.

Titmuss was more concerned to demonstrate that the values of the market and social policy are irreconcilable with the former continually threatening to undermine the latter. His preference for state collectivism is therefore more enthusiastic than Marshall's. However, the two share a similar view of the capacity of the state to generate social integration. For Titmuss, universal social services, financed through general taxation and free at the point of use ameliorate market generated inequalities but more importantly generate a sense of commitment and altruism on the part of users (1970). He demonstrates this through a comparison of health care systems in the United Kingdom and the United States and the resultant observation that the N.H.S. is able to rely on a volunteer blood donor system while the patchwork system of private health care in the U.S. is not. Titmuss concludes that:

> 'specific instruments of public policy encourage or discourage, foster or destroy, the individual expression of altruism and regard for the needs of others ... providing and extending opportunities for altruism in opposition to the possessive egoism of the market place.' (1970, P.130).

ii) Citizenship through private consumption. These arguments reflect a shift from production to the sphere of consumption as the basis for explaining patterns of stratification and consciousness. Basically, Titmuss argued that state collectivism in social welfare constitutes an independent determinant of social structure and social consciousness, or at least has the capacity

to in that it i) attenuates inequalities in the distribution of material resources and ii) fosters altruism and a 'commitment to welfare' among the general population. Citizenship is a positive influence on the social formation.

An alternative and more recently formulated set of arguments has focussed on the way in which citizenship is experienced through household consumption in the private sector of welfare provision (Saunders, 1984, Dunleavy, 1985, Pahl, 1984). Essentially, the arguments focus on the manual working class, particularly a privileged section which is constituted by relatively affluent owner occupied households. These households are closer to non-manual households in terms of their material well-being and this is reflected in their political orientation which is allegedly Conservative or abstentionist. Society is stratified, but the defining characteristic of the social formation is a division between the affluent majority and the deprived minority. The distinction between manual and non-manual labour is not an appropriate framework for understanding social structure and political conflict in the U.K. Furthermore, occupational class is no longer the most significant influence on the nature of the social formation, or so it is argued.

A number of factors have been singled out as underlying the development of consumption as providing the basis for social cleavages and these are increased affluence, alienation at work and the break up of parochial working class communities. Increased affluence allowed many working class households to expand the range of their consumption. Work, on the other hand, became experienced as a 'contingent and meaningless fact' (Gorz, 1982) undertaken only to provide finance.

The seeking of fulfillment through the domestic situation came to replace fulfillment through work as a goal (for male workers). Meanwhile, the old traditional heavy manufacturing industries were dying out, and, with them the shared and almost communal working class lifestyles which allegedly went with them (Hall, 1983). The net result of these processes, so the argument

goes, is that many working class households now pursue lifestyles which are organised around new sets of values and these are privatism (an orientation to the domestic situation rather than the work situation), instrumentalism (a pecuniary attitude towards work) and fatalism (a resignation to the cash nexus and market forces as organising principles for social and political activity). It is in this context that arguments about the paramount importance of consumption are to be viewed. Saunders' (1984) crude 'dwelling determinism' and the more sophisticated contributions of Dunleavy (1985) and Pahl (1984) are reviewed below.

Saunders is most closely associated with the view that household consumption has assumed a position of primary importance in the processes whereby social identity is formed (Saunders, 1979, p 208). Saunders' argument is based on the empirical reality that the private welfare provision in education, health-care and particularly housing has grown at a fairly substantial rate over the course of the post war period. At the same time, the size of the public sector of welfare provision has contracted. For instance, owner-occupation as a proportion of the total housing stock increased from twenty six per cent in 1945 to sixty three per cent in 1976 (Boddy, 1980).

Saunders treats this development as a systematic historical process. A number of commentators on the Marxist left view state welfare provision as being functionally necessary to advanced capitalist societies (Gough, 1979; Offe, 1982) in the sense that its purpose is to regulate the tensions which are generated by low wages and the pressures for social reform which are exerted by working class organisations. Saunders, in contrast, views what he terms 'collective consumption as a transitionary phase between 'market' and 'privatised' modes of consumption (1984). Two factors in particular have made it possible for governments to embark on what has been termed 'decollectivisation of consumption' (Harloe and Paris, 1984). First, a growth in real income for many working class households has provided the 'necessary condition' for privatisation to

proceed. Second, a phenomenon which has been termed 'the fiscal crisis of the state', a condition where state expenditures outstrip revenue (O'Connor, 1973; Gough, 1979), has provided governments with the incentive to embark on privatisation. In commenting on this process, Saunders writes that:

> "Collective consumption is proving to be not a permanent feature of advanced capitalism but a historically specific phenomenon and the period of collective provision may come to be seen in retrospect as a temporary 'holding operation' or period of transition between the old market mode and the emergence of a new mode of private sector provision which has today become both possible and attractive for an increasingly large proportion of the population (1984, p211).

This process, it is argued, is leading to a situation where the majority of the population are able to indulge in private forms of welfare provision and where a minority remain dependent on a reduced and residual state sector. This division, based on social relations of consumption, has developed to such an extent that it has superseded divisions based on the social relations of production in its effects on the processes whereby collective social identities in advanced capitalist Britain are formed. Moreover, the effects of consumption based divisions operate independently of production based social class and in two ways.

First, consumption based divisions objectively structure interests. Owner occupation, for instance, provides 'access to a highly significant accumulative form of property ownership which generates specific economic interests which differ from those of owners of capital and from those of non-owners' (1978, p234). Home-ownership therefore provides the basis for distinct ideological effects which lean in the direction of political conservatism. This notion has a long history in relation to owner-occupation. In 1976 for instance, the General Secretary of the Building Societies Association stated that:

> "The point where more than half the houses in the country have become owner-occupied was a significant milestone because even a small stake in the country does affect political attitudes. The greater the proportion of owner-occupiers, the less likely are extreme measures to prevail" (Hamnett, 1989, p238).

This argument has been constructed in a more systematic way by Dunleavy (1979, p83) who has attempted to relate consumption based divisions to political alignments. Saunders' work can be classified as neo-Weberian in the sense that consumption based groups are seen as status groups which are unrelated to social class. Dunleavy, on the other hand, is closer to Marxism, and indeed has been classified as a neo-Marxist (Duke and Edgell, 1984) because of his argument that consumption is partially dependent on social class.

In Dunleavy's conception, votes are instrumentally aligned towards the party most clearly identified with their consumption location. Consumption location here is a cumulative situation operating across a range of services (transport, housing and health care) and its ideological effects depend on the extent to which households are involved in either public or private consumption processes. Non-manual households are fragmented or polarised by predominantly public consumption processes. However, the ideological effects of private consumption are argued to be stronger in the manual working class (Duke and Edgell, 1984, p185). Those manual workers who are dependent on public housing and transport who vote will probably vote for the Labour Party. Conversely, manual workers who are owner-occupiers and who have access to private transport will not vote for the Labour Party. Such households are unlikely to support collective welfare provision. This argument complements Titmuss in that it is suggesting that users of private services are unlikely to express a commitment to welfare. Private welfare fosters social division but it is not a division based on traditional class lines. Private welfare serves to integrate a privileged section of the working class but serves to marginalize the underprivileged, especially those with poor access to secure employment.

It has been argued that this trend of increasing privatised consumption of welfare, which may have reached its outer limits, reflects an underlying process of polarisation in the U.K. between the 'haves' who are a majority and the 'have nots' who

are a minority (Halsey, 1986, Townsend, 1987). This notion of polarisation is central to Pahl's most recent work (1984, 1988) which is based on an empirical study of domesticity and household work strategies on the Isle of Sheppey in Kent. Pahl's theoretical arguments are based on the observation that:

> 'a process of polarisation is developing, with households busily engaged in all forms of work at one pole and households unable to do a wide range of work at the other'. (1984, P.313).

As a result of his analyses, Pahl advanced the assertion that 'the assumption that the occupation of the male chief earner is the most important determinant of the social and political consciousness of the household is open to serious doubt' (1984, P.314). Rather the experience of domesticity is the main determinant of social and political consciousness. However, domesticity is experienced as a result of work opportunities, which are more available to a majority of households than to a minority of underprivileged households. Thus the social structure of modern Britain is characterised by a basic faultline dividing a 'middle mass' of between 55-65 per cent of the population, comprised of inward looking, home centred and consumption orientated households from a deprived underclass of between 20-25 per cent of the population (1984, P.314). In this context, the importance of traditional class based lines of social cleavage has diminished. Thus Pahl writes:

> 'The division between the more affluent home owning households of ordinary working people and the less advantaged underclass households is coming to be more significant than conventional divisions based on the manual/non-manual distinction'. (1984, P.314)

The political implications of this result from the changing nature of the relationship between work, household and party. First, Pahl draws on Gorz (1982, pp.80-88) to argue that work in advanced capitalist societies has become so alienating that it has come to be seen by many workers as a means to an end (ie to generate an income) rather than an end in itself. For the male head of household, the domestic situation has replaced the work situation as the central activity through which personal satisfaction and status are derived. This argument involves the

notion of 'privatism', which is used by sociologists to indicate that a proportion of manual working class households are now inward looking and home centred in contrast to some outward looking communal golden age in the past (Marshall et al 1988, Pahl and Wallace, 1986).

Pahl relates the notion of privatism to the propensity of manual households to become involved in political activity and in so doing makes a distinction between 'instrumental' and 'affective' collectivism. The historical collectivism of the British labour Movement, or at least the involvement of a section of the manual working class in this collective political orientation, has been largely instrumental in that such an approach was the only realistic option for workers who had nothing but their capacity to sell labour-power (1984, P.322). However, political collectivism remained an appropriate option in so far as it delivered the goods. For a section of the manual working class, the option is redundant, and for two reasons. First, the goods it delivered, goods such as poor quality housing estates managed by impersonal bureaucracies, were inferior. Second, the power of collective labour has been undermined by the international manoeuvrings of multi-national capitalist corporations, and by the industrial relations legislation which emerged during the ten years in which a market liberal anti-union Conservative government has directed public policy. Thus for some manual working class households, instrumental collectivism has been replaced by instrumental individualism. In this, they are closer to non-manual households than to other manual households.

> 'For a time, ordinary people were prepared to go along with solidaristic collectivism as perhaps the only way to get major advances into citizenship. Now it seems, the citizens of the middle mass are asserting themselves in their private lives'. (1984, P.326)

Privatism, generated in this way, is more likely to involve apathy as a political option than positive and enthusiastic support for a party committed to the promotion of social inequalities. Thus the Isle of Sheppey survey demonstrated that households were mistrustful of politicians and disinterested in

politics, and this was reflected in the fact that party political activity on the island was moribund.

What evidence is there to support the claim that a majority/minority cleavage based on access to the means of consumption is more important than class in influencing social identities?

On the basis of his analysis of voting behaviour in 1974, Dunleavy found that home owning households with two cars were 4.4 times more likely to vote Conservative than council tenants with no car. Thus he claims 'the independent effects of consumption locations on voting appears to be comparable to, if not slightly greater than, the effects of social grade' (1980, p79). Dunleavy's analysis was supported by the results of a later analysis of voting patterns in the 1979 and 1983 general elections (Williams et al, 1987), which demonstrated that council house sales in the period between the two elections had changed erstwhile Labour supporters into Conservative and Alliance voters. Similarly, Johnston's analysis of this voting data demonstrated the importance of housing tenure to voting behaviour although it added a spatial dimension to this picture. Working class owner occupiers were more likely to vote for a party other than Labour if they lived in an area where housing exchange values were high; the South east for instance (Johnston, 1987, p 119).

There isn't a great deal of evidence concerning the relationship between class, consumption location and welfare attitudes specifically, but the results of the social survey conducted by Duke and Edgell (1984, 1985) in 1981 throw some light on this matter. The purpose of the survey was to explore public perceptions of expenditure cuts which had been implemented by the Conservative government. Thus the study was concerned with the expenditure aspect of the welfare state only. Two types of attitudinal indicator, which were used in the data analysis, were of particular interest. These were:

a) whether respondents want more or less spending on particular services and,

b) whether respondents approve or disapprove of spending cuts in general.

An analysis of the relationship between social class, consumption location and these attitudinal indicators enabled Duke and Edgell to draw two conclusions which were of interest. First it was confirmed that the concept of consumption sectoral cleavage has a theoretical relevance and empirical applicability to the study of welfare opinions (or at least one particular and important aspect concerned with expenditure levels) (Duke and Edgell, 1984, p189). Second, social class appeared to be a better predictor of attitudes to spending in general (1984, p193). Class here was defined and operationalised in Marxist terms using one of Wright's earlier formulations (Wright and Perrone, 1977).

The evidence which has been presented so far enables two points to be made about the relationship between consumption sector an attitudes. First, consumption sector appears to be as important as social class as far as voting is concerned. Second, both consumption sector and social class are implicated in the process whereby welfare attitudes are generated but the relative importance of the two variables varies according to the welfare issues in question.

Section Four. Social Class Revisited

The response of those who believe that class based on 'work situation' remains the primary determinant of social processes and distributional outcomes has been twofold. First, those who have subscribed to this position have demonstrated that occupational class, based on a distinction between manual and non-manual labour, structures both the distribution of material resources and life chances and social and political attitudes. Second, a number of writers who argue that class has primacy in

explaining social and political phenomena are unhappy about using the Registrar General's manual/non-manual distinction owing to what they see as substantial changes in the nature of the class structure in contemporary Britain. In particular, the manual-working class has substantially declined in size whilst new middle layers have burgeoned. The collapse of old class certainties is said to be reflected in recent national voting behaviour, which has favoured the Thatcherite Tories. Thus while Pahl and other writers have attempted to explain recent political developments in terms of the growth of new forms of social cleavage, a number of writers who believe that class remains important have pointed to changes in the class structure to provide the basis for explaining these developments (Hobsbawm, 1981, Heath, 1985). A substantial amount of conceptual work has therefore been undertaken and completed with a view to reformulating the notion of class based on work situation in a way which is appropriate to contemporary Britain.

i) Class and Welfare. A number of writers have looked at the way in which occupational class continues to structure both life-chances and social and political attitudes.

First it can be demonstrated that class continues to be strongly associated with the distribution of material resources and life chances in British society, particularly in the areas of income, wealth, housing and health. The gap between manual and non-manual employees in terms of income levels has widened considerably between 1971 and 1987 (Social Trends, 1989), even though most household incomes have increased in real terms. It is difficult to obtain information on wealth ownership but a clue about the nature of its distribution can be obtained from an analysis of the distribution of share ownership by class. The ownership of shares is concentrated overwhelmingly in the top two social classes and share ownership among manual workers is minimal (Social Trends, 1987). This may seem like elementary sociology but it is necessary to point out that the basic class parameters of society, which were always understood by empirical sociologists to exist, remain intact. Theories about the

impact of relatively minor consumption on sections of the working class seem almost absurd in the light of the overall class distribution of income and wealth.

The manual/non-manual distinction is also reflected in health inequalities. Mortality and morbidity rates for manual workers are higher. (Townsend, 1982; Whitehead, 1987). In spite of this non-manual workers receive a better service from the N.H.S. Le Grand's study of inequalities in health care is useful here because it demonstrates that while manual workers are much more likely to report illness, N.H.S. expenditure per person for this group is much lower than it is for non-manual workers (Le Grand, 1982).

Finally, in terms of the overall distribution of specific variables, those writers who argue that class has diminished in importance as a form of social cleavage have not focussed on the distributions of these variables to support their case. Instead they have focussed mainly on housing tenure. The response to writers such as Saunders has therefore concentrated on the relationship between class and housing.

To recap, Saunders argument is based on the view that owner-occupation separates owners from non-owners in terms of interests irrespective of class differences within tenures. The first and most obvious point to make is that the extent to which domestic property acts as a source of accumulation is strongly associated with the occupational class location of the household (Thorns, 1982). House price inflation varies considerably according to the affluence of the neighbourhood. Similarly, class differences are reflected in housing conditions. Again, Le Grand's study is useful in that it demonstrates that over-crowding and a lack of basic amenities are more frequent among owner-occupiers who are manual workers (1982).

To summarize, class based on a distinction between manual and non-manual labour continues to be significantly related to the distribution of income and wealth and to health and housing

related variables. Owner occupation may have a role to play in shaping people's political perceptions and preferences but is it really more important than class, as a form of social cleavage? It has been noted that owner-occupation is a socially differentiated form of housing tenure and that this differentiation is itself class related. If class remains strongly associated with the distribution of material resources and life chances, then we could expect it to have a similar strength of association with social and political attitudes in general and with attitudes to expenditure on and participation in welfare services in particular.

Many studies of welfare attitudes have tended to emphasize the homogenous nature of the responses to their surveys. In commenting on his survey of survey results for instance, Klein wrote that 'the nineteenth century distinction between the deserving and the undeserving poor seems to be alive and kicking in the minds of most people' (Klein, 1974, p410). Again, in 1979, Harris and Seldon wrote that 'it is no longer possible to doubt that representative samples ... reflect a growing preference for changes in policy' (1979, p201). In commenting on the results of his own surveys in 1985, Taylor Gooby wrote that 'The overall impression is of a homogenous structure of attitudes throughout the population' (1985, p37) and 'The most striking feature of the responses is their homogenity'; (1985, p40).

However, in a subsequent analysis of a later survey, Taylor Gooby produced findings which indicate that class may have a role to play in shaping welfare attitudes. These findings do not exist in published form. Tables Four, Five and Six are based on this analysis (Taylor Gooby, 1985 b). Table Four contains figures which were generated by crosstabulating occupational class with expressed dissatisfaction with various aspects of consumer participation in the N.H.S. The differences in percentage terms between respondents in the different occupational classes are not that large but if anything, respondents in occupational classes one, two and to a certain

extent three, are more likely to express dissatisfaction. This suggested that middle-class respondents were more likely to adopt an 'activist' disposition in their role as consumers of state welfare.

The figures contained in Table Five throw some light on class differences in the nature of preferred strategies for the amelioration of those conditions which give rise to dissatisfaction. There was a marked tendency for respondents in occupational classes one and two who are dissatisfied to favour the expansion of private modes of provision. The 'exit' option was preferred by the upper middle-classes. Conversely, there was a tendency for dissatisfied manual workers to favour greater expenditure on the N.H.S. Manual workers therefore favoured the option of 'innovation'.

These results are complemented by the figures which are presented in Table Six. This Table is a three way crosstabulation between the occupational class of the respondent, the type of pension scheme which the respondent is involved in and the respondents' preference for change in the way that state and occupational pensions are run. What the Table demonstrates is that respondents who were manual workers were more likely to have a preference for more information on and more of a say in the way that the state pension scheme is run while non-manual workers seemed to prefer the two for occupational pension schemes. Again, attitudes were linked to life circumstances, in that occupational schemes were more important to non-manual respondents. It must be stressed, that the class differences which were apparent in the data contained in tables, four, five and six were not statistically significant.

ii) The politics of welfare. Although it has been demonstrated that class is central to welfare in the U.K., a number of writers who believe that this is so argue that a scheme based on a distinction between manual and non-manual labour alone is an unsatisfactory tool to apply to the politics of welfare (Byrne et al, 1985, Wright, 1985, Marshall et al, 1988). This criticism is based on a recognition of changes which have allegedly transformed the class structure; changes which have resulted from a restructuring of Britain's employment base which has occurred over the course of the post-war period; a restructuring which itself results from changes in the international division of labour (Rose et al, 1984), the growing complexity of public and private organisations (Scott, 1979), and the historically poor investment performance of British industrialists and governments (Harrison, 1979).

In terms of the consequent changes to the class structure of modern Britain, many commentators focus on two principal developments and these are i) a steady and continuing decline in the size of the manual working class and ii) the growth of new layers in the non-manual part of the class structure. These developments are said to have resulted in a new agenda of class politics but it appears to be the relationship between a declining manual working class and the Labour vote which receives the lion's share of analytical attention from commentators.

Those who remain intellectually committed to the place of class in contemporary politics reject the notion of embourgoisiement which is implicitly in theories which relate to social cleavages based on consumption.

Working class consumerism is not a new phenomenon (even Marx commented on it) and did not prevent the rise of the labour party in this country. Similarly, the division within the manual working class between affluent skilled workers and poor unskilled workers did not emerge in the post-war period (Mann, 1984; Wetherly, 1988). However, the Labour Party grew in a situation where the manual working class constituted the

majority of the population. This situation has changed. In commenting on this Hobsbawm writes:

> "The manual working class of the old kind is now probably a minority ... even if we suppose that all the old working class supporters flock back to the party, we would not get back to 1945. And while the 'new' working class of white collars, technical and lesser professional employees is now largely organised in unions, and a part of them (particularly in the public sector) have undoubtedly been radicalised, their 'class consciousness' is not necessarily the same as that of the old style manual workers and their spontaneous attraction to a 'party of the working class' is less (1981, p176)".

Writing in the early 1980s, Hobsbawm observed that the traditional manual working class had declined resulting in a diminished vote for a Labour Party still wedded to a traditional 'cloth cap' municipal socialism, and facilitating the rise of what has come to be known as Thatcherism. Hobsbawm and other writers associated with the theoretical journal 'Marxism Today' 'prophesied that the Labour Party couldn't hope to form a government again by merely appealing to its traditional class base. What was and is required according to these 'pink professors', is a 'hegemonic thrust', aimed at dismantling the nascent elements of the new consensus that Thatcher is attempting to establish in place of the old social democratic welfare consensus. In other words, the Labour Party was and is required to provide an intellectual and moral lead in civil society appealing to sections of the non-manual working class. Hosbawm's argument, which is the argument of British psephologists expressed in the language of Gramsci (Heath et al, 1985, Heath and Evans, 1989) prompts two questions. First, who are these non-manual workers who might be prepared to support a revamped Labour version of welfare, in preference to Thatcher's market liberal version? Second, and perhaps more important, is there a common ground of welfare policy to which both non-manual and manual workers would subscribe? If so, what is its nature? What version of citizenship would attract the support of a substantial majority of the population, one which would be established through the extension of private welfare or

one which would be established thorough equal entitlement to collective services or another and as yet unspecified version?

The evidence, such as it exists, points to two layers in the non-manual portion of the class structure where potential support for the Labour Party exists. First, a number of writers have pointed to the appearance of a new service class of managerial and professional employees with common interests in relation to the means of production (Dahrendorf, 1969; Abercrombie and Urry, 1983) and, presumably, welfare provision. 'The main expectation attached to service class positions is the administration of laws, whether public or private, formal or sanctioned' (Dahrendorf, 1969, p145). The most obvious problem of treating managerial and professional employees as one service class is that it sidesteps the possibility that there are very real differences of interest with this group. Westergaard (1984), for instance, points out that managers in public bureaucracies are more likely to take a defensive position on state expenditure than their private sector counter parts. This seems to be confirmed by the results of a survey, conducted by Duke and Edgell (1985) which demonstrated that 'controllers of welfare' adopt a strongly favourable attitude to public spending on welfare benefits and services.

Support for the Labour Party's traditional policies of re-distribution and for extending public services appears to be fairly substantial in the ranks of Goldthorpe's 'salariat' (Marshall et al, 1988). The results of the most recent 'British Social Attitudes' survey (Jowell et al, 1989) demonstrated that the salariat is strongly divided between traditional left and right wing views on social and economic issues. What seems clear is the salariant and other non-manual layers are growing whilst the traditional manual working class is declining. Logically, this suggests that a programme for welfare which is designed to appeal to both non-manual and manual workers is the most appropriate way for the Labour Party to proceed in terms of its electoral strategy. However, it seems sensible to point out that the Labour Party has many more actual and potential recruits in

the manual working class and that this situation is likely to obtain for the forseeable future (Heath and Evans, 1989). The problems that this could engender are illustrated by the issue of the poll-tax in Scotland, where the Labour Party's failure to support illegal non-payment, a move which is arguably designed to appeal to middle class sensitivities, could lose them the support of many manual workers to the Scottish Nationalists (Rose, 1989, p.325).

iii) Conceptualizing the Class Structure.

Different theoretical approaches to the study of class abound. One needs only to turn the pages of Giddens 1973 work on class to see this is so. However, many empirical studies of class have used the Official Registrar General's social class classification scheme even though they have been informed by theoretical approaches which cannot be reconciled to this scheme. Moreover this scheme has been criticised because it is not underpinned by a coherent body of social theory and because it is not an appropriate tool to measure the changed and complex realities of the class structure of modern Britain (Marshall et al, 1988, pp 18-21).

Responses to perceived inadequacies and shortcomings of existing work have been cast within two broad streams of social theory, one Weberian and one Marxist. Since it is the Marxist approach which is later applied as a possible alternative to the official approach, the Weberian response is dealt with briefly here.

Goldthorpe's current classification scheme, which involves eleven positions in the class structure, is derived from a Weberian concept of class in that it is based on the market and work situations of particular occupations. In Goldthorpe's terms, the classification scheme attempts to combine occupational categories whose members would appear ... 'to be typically comparable, on the one hand, in terms of their sources and levels of income, their degree of economic security and chances of economic advancement; and, on the other, their locations within systems

of authority and control governing the process of production in which they are engaged and hence their degree of autonomy in performing their work-tasks and roles'. (1980, p39).

Marxists are critical of Goldthorpe's scheme, not on technical grounds, but because it is ultimately based on an approach in which class is seen as resulting from 'work situation' defined in terms of occupation and 'market situation' which results from distributive processes (Duke and Edgell, 1984). Marxists are eager to promote a sociological method of analysis in which social class is presented as a product of the 'social relations of production' (Poulantzas, 1978; Binns, 1977; Wright, 1979). In fairness, Goldthorpe's conception of class structure does centre on social relations of production, as systems of authority and control in the work place are part of his conceptual apparatus. The essential difference between Goldthorpe and many Marxists is the reliance of the latter on Marx's theory of surplus value (Marx, 1970). Marx's classes are involved in relations of exploitation whereas Goldthorpe's are not (necessarily).

There is a gap of considerable proportions between the conception of class structure which has hitherto been utilised in Marxist studies of welfare and the reality of practical welfare politics. This results from the 'looseness' of the definitions of social class which have been employed. Consider Gough's definition of the working class as being 'those with no control over labour power, means of production or investment and resources' (1979). Similarly, Byrne and his associates assert that 'to be working class is to be a wage labourer, a potential wage labourer or dependent on an actual or dependent wage labourer' (1985, P.53). Clearly, such definitions are too broad to be of more than a general use in the analysis of social welfare, although this hasn't stopped Marxists from using neat dichotomies which place the majority of the population behind their political project.

One conceptually elaborate attempt to deal with this gap is to be found in the work of Wright, work which spans a decade (1977, 1979, 1980, 1985). The conceptual map which results from this work involves a polarised class structure with capitalists at one end, proletarians at the other and a range of class locations between these two poles. Wright's expanded range of contradictory class locations (eight in all) result from his observation that concrete social formations involve more than one mode of production, although one is always dominant and characteristic of the specific social formation. Advanced capitalist societies involve three types of class structure and these are capitalist (the dominant), statist (based on organisation assets) and socialist (based on credential assets). The three dimensions of social class in actually existing advanced capitalist societies intersect to produce the twelve class locations contained in figure one.

Figure One. Assets in the means of production

Owners of means of production		Non-owners [wage labourers]			
1.	Bourgeoisie	4. Expert Managers	7. Semi Credentialled Managers	10.	Uncredentialled Managers
2.	Small Employers	5. Expert Supervisors	8. Semi Credentialled Supervisors	11.	Uncredentialled Supervisors
3.	Petty Bourgeoisie	6. Expert non-managers	9. Semi Credentialled Workers	12.	Proletarians

Wright argues that this conceptual apparatus effectively bridges the preexisting gap in Marxist studies between class structure and class formation in a way which meets the logical requirements of Marxist theory. Wright demonstrates this by showing that the reformulated class variable explains both the distribution of household incomes and differences in social and political attitudes in Sweden and the U.S.A. (1985, pp164, 165, 174, 175, 260, 261). Wright would therefore see his conceptual apparatus as being of sufficient utility in the process of explaining social and political realities in advanced capitalist societies. Wright's framework should therefore have the capacity to explain or account for class attitudes to welfare in the British context.

iv) Summary

It has been noted that the concept of class remains useful to the process of explaining both social inequalities in the distribution of life chances and material resources and the nature of social and political attitudes held by members of the general public. This usefulness was demonstrated by using the 'official' social class classification scheme which is based on a distinction between manual and non-manual occupations.

However, the class structure of British society has changed, and it is developments which have resulted from this change which are argued to have produced a moral climate which has been favourable to the Thatcherite Conservative Party over the course of the last decade, not the increased prevalence of working class consumption of private welfare per se. The link between the manual working class and pro-welfare state and pro Labourist attitudes remains strong, but the manual working class itself has declined in size leading to an erosion of the Labour party's natural electoral constituency. New middle and other layers now exist as a result of long term industrial and sectoral change. The electoral preferences of these new layers are not known in any great detail, but they are assumed to be unidentical to the preferences of manual workers. The work of Wright (1985) and others (Marshall, et al, 1988) can be seen as an attempt to provide a rigorous theoretical basis to the concept of social class and to provide frameworks for understanding the complexity of class relations in advanced industrial societies.

Section Five. Social cleavages and public attitudes to welfare; the current research agenda.

The arguments issues and supporting literature which have been reviewed in this chapter pointed to the importance of a number of areas as constituting the current agenda of research into public attitudes about welfare provision. The first concerns the structure of public perceptions of and preferences for welfare provision. A great deal is known about public attitudes

to various aspects of public spending on welfare issues. The potential for research in this area is not exhausted, however. The evidence suggests that public attitudes to welfare spending may not be as fixed and robust as Taylor Gooby (1985) has argued. This being so, continuing research in this area is necessary to record changes in public attitudes to welfare spending over time. Hobsbawm's review of recent evidence, for instance, suggests that public sympathies are now increasingly moving in the direction of support for the Labour Party and collective welfare provision (Hobsbawm, 1989).

Second, the evidence concerning public attitudes about consumer participation in welfare services is partial and inconclusive. It was felt that research in this area needs to be developed further because of the way in which alleged public concern about consumer participation in welfare has been emphasized and because of the emphasis that has been put on the process of consumer participation in welfare as a rationale for recent government policy and in the Labour Party policy review. Witness, for instance, the way in which the Conservative government's current paper on the N.H.S. is framed around the notion of consumer participation and in which the proposals contained in this paper are linked to the dissatisfaction felt by many consumers with various aspects of the N.H.S. Witness also that the response of Labour Party politicians has been to assert that the proposals contained in the white paper, if implemented, will actually lead to a deterioration in the position of consumers in the N.H.S. Are members of the public concerned about participation in welfare or would it be more appropriate to suggest that the emphasis which has been put on the process of consumer participation by social commentators and by the major political parties has been misplaced. If members of the public are concerned about participation in welfare, what is the nature of this concern and what implications does it have for practical policy preferences?

Third, the evidence of surveys of welfare attitudes has not indicated the existence of strong class divisions in the population. However, this may have a lot to do with the nature of the questions which have been presented to respondents. These questions have been largely concerned with issues which could be expected to elicit homogenous responses; with general support for the universal social services and with social benefits for relatively unfavoured sections of the population.

Class is a concept which implies conflicting interests in relation to distributional outcomes. It seems likely, therefore, that it is those questions which express the unequal nature of welfare in the UK which will be likely to elicit class biased responses. Such questions should address, for instance, class inequalities in health care or in state housing subsidies. These are just two aspects that are related to the expenditure aspect of the welfare state. In addition, examples of class differences in the way in which the welfare state is experienced by consumers were reflected in questionnaire items which were presented to respondents in the Plymouth survey. The data which were generated in this way are reviewed in Chapter Six.

Fourth, it is 'necessary' to evaluate the relative importance of class and alternative forms of social cleavage such as consumption sector in shaping both interests and attitudes to welfare. This area was investigated in two ways. First, the influence of occupational class and of consumption related factors on local voting trends in Plymouth was assessed through an analysis of local social, economic and voting statistics. The results of this exercise are reported in Chapter Four. Second, respondents to the Plymouth survey were classified according to their class and consumption locations, providing the basis for subsequent multivariate statistical analyses of their responses. The results of this exercise are presented in Chapter Eight.

Fifth, the development of new conceptions of social class in social science provides the basis for a comparison of one or more of these with the manual/non-manual classification scheme in

terms of the nature of public attitudes about welfare issues. Such a comparison is particularly important in the light of debates about substantial changes in the nature of the British class and political structure. It is clear that the number of manual workers as a percentage of the population has declined over the course of the post-war period. It is not so clear in terms of the empirical evidence if alternative conceptions of social class have a greater applicability to the process of explaining social divisions than classification schemes based on the distinctions between manual and non-manual labour. Both Wrights' social class scheme and the Registrar General's occupational class scheme are compared and assessed in Chapter Eight.

TABLE ONE

Attitudes to Welfare Spending: the evidence of the British Election Studies, 1974 to 1979

Social Services	Feb 1974 %	Oct 1974 %	1979 %
have gone too far and should be cut back a lot	11	13	20
should be cut back a bit	22	25	29
should stay much as they are		32	26
more social services and benefits are needed	32	27	20

Source: Sarlvik and Crewe, 1983; Sarlvik and Crewe, 1974

TABLE TWO

Attitudes to welfare spending: the evidence of the British Social Attitudes series, 1983 to 1987

	1983* %	1987+ %
Reduce taxes and spend less on health education and social benefits	9	3
Keep taxes and spending on those services at the same level as now	54	42
Increases taxes and spend more on health education and social benefits	32	50
N	1719	2847

Source: *Jowell and Airey, 1984; +Jowell, Witherspoon and Brook, 1989

TABLE THREE

Consumer dissatisfaction with various aspects of the N.H.S. 1983 to 1987

	1983* %	1987+ %
Local doctors/GP's	12	13
N.H.S. Dentists	10	9
Health Visitors	6	9
District Nurses	2	4
Being in hospital as an inpatient	6	14
Attending hospital as an outpatient	21	29
N	1719	2847

Source: *Jowell and Airey, 1984; +Jowell, Witherspoon and Brook, 1989

TABLE FOUR

Occupational class and public dissatisfaction with the NHS (%)

Aspect of the Service	Percentage in each of the occupational class groups who expressed unfavourable evaluations			
	Class 1 & 2	3	4 & 5	Overall
	%	%	%	%
People can see the GP they want	38	42	34	39
Standards of treatment high	30	30	26	29
Doctors have time to answer questions	48	46	39	45
Hospital staff are friendly	9	9	8	9
Has enough nurses and doctors	75	77	73	74
has privacy in hospital	58	49	42	49
Administration is efficient	47	39	32	39
Fair complaints procedure	38	38	29	36
Equal care for all	24	20	23	22
Good for:				
Emergency care	18	23	18	21
Day to day care	30	23	21	24
Care for elderly	45	43	38	42
Waiting lists too long	91	89	85	89
Number in each of the occupational class groups.	279	637	316	1,341

Source Taylor Gooby, 1985

TABLE FIVE.

Occupational class, satisfaction with the NHS and support for the state and the market in the provision of health care(%)

Percent supporting increased privatisation of health care

Satisfaction with experience of N.H.S.	Whole Sample	Classes 1 and 2	3	4 and 5
Very Satisfied	59 (710)	69 (169)	58 (340)	52 (173)
Fairly, not very, not at all satisfied	59 (581)	67 (141)	56 (284)	55 (132)
Percent support increased state spending:				
Very satisfied	41 (710)	36 (169)	44 (340)	38 (173)
Fairly, not very, not at all satisfied	40 (591)	39 (141)	41 (284)	45 (132)
N	1341	311	625	305

Note: Figures in brackets give the number in each cell on which the percent supporting the policy is based

Source: Taylor Gooby 1985.

TABLE SIX. Public attitudes to participation in occupational and state pension schemes

Perception of State Occupational Pension Schemes and Social Class (%)

		People with State and Occupational Pensions			State Pensions Only		
		Social Class					
State Scheme		1 & 2	3	4 & 5	1 & 2	3	4 & 5
Want more information on how the state scheme works	Yes:	42	51	52	45	55	54
	No :	58	49	47	54	44	45
Want more say in how the state scheme works	Yes:	44	56	56	48	58	59
	No :	54	42	42	50	39	40
N		322	637	317	154	387	230
Occupational Pensions Only							
Information wanted on occupational scheme	Yes:	28	27	22			
	No :	75	73	76			
More say	Yes:	28	34	25			
	No :	72	66	71			
N		162	227	63			

Source: Taylor Gooby, 1985.

TABLE SEVEN. Public attitudes to participation in the NHS

Reasons given for dissatisfaction with the N.H.S. 1985 (%)

Consumer Control (treatment not explained; difficulties in getting a second opinion etc)	23
Rudeness and Inconsiderate Treatment	13
Quality of Treatment	10
No Dissatisfaction	51
Not Applicable	3
N	1341

Source: Taylor Gooby, 1985

CHAPTER THREE

OPERATIONALIZATION AND FIELDWORK

In Chapter Two, the way in which the concerns of the Plymouth study were generated and the social science literature dealing with these concerns were both outlined and presented.

In this chapter, the methods and procedures used to investigate these concerns are outlined. The sections below are organised in the following way. Section One deals with the methodological history of research into attitudes to welfare and the location of the study within this field of investigation. The purpose of this exercise is to justify the use of the survey method as a tool for investigating welfare attitudes in terms of the methodological tradition in this area. Previous research has made use of the survey method and there are good reasons for this as will become apparent from the discussion.

This is followed by a section which deals with the process by which the central research concepts were operationalized. The issue of social class in particular is contentious because of the diverse and competing theoretical approaches and because of the different interpretations which have been made of empirical developments in the social structure during the post-war period.

Section Three outlines the procedure that was used to sample social collectivities in Plymouth. In particular, a justification for the use of a quota rather than a random sampling procedure is presented. Section Four provides a description of the fieldwork process.

Section One - Social surveys and attitudes to welfare

A number of surveys on particular topics of relevance to welfare have been carried out over the course of the last twelve years. These are of a number of types. First, there are studies which are concerned with specific welfare issues only (Harris and Seldon, 1979, Golding and Middleton, 1982, Taylor Gooby, 1985, Mack and Lansley, 1985). Second, there are ongoing studies which look at a range of social and political attitudes but which also cover social welfare issues in some detail (Jowell and Airey, 1984, Sarlvick and Crewe, 1983). Third, there are studies of class consciousness which attempt to make systematic linkages between social class and specific response sets (Wright, 1985, Marshall et al, 1988).

Harris and Seldon's (1979) study was a politically motivated attempt to demonstrate that the British public desired more private welfare provision at the expense of the public sector of welfare provision. The questions contained in the most recent questionnaire were concerned mainly with choice in welfare provision and with different ways of financing the provision of health care and education (1979, appendix). An example of this is given below. In the four surveys which were conducted by the Institute of Economic Affairs between 1963 and 1978, respondents were asked to choose between three different options for financing health care and education. These were:

1. The state should take more in taxes, rates and contributions and so on to pay for better and increased services which everyone would have;
2. The state should take less in taxes, rates and contributions and so on to provide services only for people in need and leave others to pay or insure privately;
3. The state should continue the present service, but allow people to contract out, pay less contributions and so on and use the money to pay for their own services (1979, pp 44-5).

Harris and Seldon's study is of merit for two reasons. First, it was the first systematic study of welfare attitudes in Britain of any substance using the survey method. One could almost say that the

IEA initiated the development of the area of study which is attitudes to welfare. This was at a time when the right were taking the initiative generally. Second, Harris and Seldon had the imagination to introduce an element of cost into the questions that were presented to respondents. It was made uniquivocally clear that an increase in public sector provision would mean an increase in contribution levels. The practice of presenting unpriced questions which concern preferred public spending levels on welfare services to respondents creates confusion and this may be the source of the 'ambivalence' in welfare attitudes which has been noted by a number of observers (Taylor Gooby, 1982, p 324). It must be pointed out, however, that Harris and Seldon are not entirely free from criticism when it comes to question wording and interpretation of responses. Option three in the set of statements above is alleged to represent the market alternative to welfare statism and favourable responses were considered to be a public endorsement of market principles in the finance and production of welfare. Anyone who is familiar with the publications of the IEA in particular and of market liberals in general will know that option two is the scenario which is advocated by the Institute for Economic Affairs (Bosanquet, 1983, p 76).

Golding and Middleton's survey was concerned with the poor and with public perceptions of poverty, social security benefits, and work incentives. It was also concerned with alleged abuse of the social security system by social security claimants. The questionnaire contained both fixed choice and open ended items. This is its particular merit. Examples of the statements used in the questionnaire are as follows:

a) benefits are too high and too easy to get;
b) having to ask for social security benefits makes people feel ashamed;
c) it's embarrassing to have to claim welfare benefits (1982, pp 160-163).

The 'Breadline Britain' Survey (1985) was similar in that its focus was 'attitudes to the poor' although its emphasis was on the needs rather than the responsibilities of this group. The questions presented to respondents were concerned with the extent of poverty,

the reasons for poverty, the responsibilities of government to the poor and the kinds of policies which could be expected to bring about a reduction in poverty. Following Harris and Seldon's lead, the latter were priced.

Perhaps the most comprehensive and detailed work in the area of attitudes to welfare to date is that which has been produced by Taylor-Gooby (1982, 1983a, 1983b, 1983c, 1983e, 1985a, 1985b, 1986; 1987). This author's first study was based on a local sample and the topics covered in the questionnaire covered preferences for public expenditure levels on the various services which together constitute the welfare state and public perceptions of different welfare issues including egalitarianism, efficiency, stigma and social conflict (Taylor-Gooby, 1985, p 34). In addition to the obligatory questions on preferred spending levels, therefore, the questionnaire contained a range of value statements. Examples of these were:

The Welfare State:

a) Makes people less willing to look after themselves;
b) Gives people the satisfaction of helping people they don't know;
c) Helps people who don't deserve help;
d) Interferes too much in people's lives.

This survey was based on a quota sample of 240 which was stratified by social class. The economically inactive were excluded from the sample. Given that Taylor-Gooby's survey was investigating attitudes about consumption rather than production this may have been ill advised.

In contrast, Taylor-Gooby's later survey was based on a national random sample of 2000. The sample units were selected from 100 polling districts, which, in their turn were selected on a random basis from 100 Parliamentary constituencies stratified by region, population density, percentage Labour vote and home-ownership (Taylor-Gooby, 1986, p 235).

The aim of this survey was slightly different in emphasis in that it was concerned with a comparison of public attitudes to public and private sectors of welfare provision on a number of aspects of service provision including both finance and client participation. Depth interviews were conducted six months later with 100 respondents from the main survey. These respondents were chosen in order that they were representative of the main sample although as Taylor-Gooby (1987, p 467) points out, this goal was not fully realized. Some of the statements which were presented to respondents in the main survey were as follows.

a) Doctors have enough time to answer questions;
b) Hospital staff are friendly;
c) The NHS has a fair complaints procedure;
d) The Education system pays attention to parent's views (1985b, pp 237-238).

The value of Taylor-Gooby's latest survey lies in the comprehensiveness of the topics covered in the questionnaires. Indeed, after reviewing his work, one is left with the feeling that the area of study which is attitudes to welfare has been exhausted. It is possible to question, however, the rigour he has employed in constructing and using particular instruments of analysis. First, although a section of Taylor-Gooby's study is concerned with the relationship between social class and attitudes to welfare, it does not incorporate developments in the conceptualisation and operationalisation of social class which were available to him (Goldthorpe and Hope, 1974, Wright, 1980, Wright and Perrone, 1977). Instead, he relies solely on the Registrar General's classification scheme. Second, Taylor-Gooby does not appear to attempt to construct attitude scales from the individual attitude statements which were used in the questionnaires. Responses can only be interpreted as they stand, that is, as responses to individual items. This may tell us a lot about public perceptions of welfare but little about the intensity of public attitudes on specific dimensions of welfare provision.

More recent empirical studies of 'class consciousness' provide a methodological guide to the way in which studies of class attitudes to welfare could be designed.

Studies of class consciousness are explicitly concerned with those aspects of the social world which affect the lives of class actors. These aspects centre, in the main, on the world of work and the way in which material resources are distributed. The traditional approach to the study of class consciousness when using the survey method has been the application of a dominant/radical values framework to attitudinal data (Jessop, 1974, Mann, 1970, Duke and Edgell, 1986). Two recent developments of this approach are the contributions of Wright (1985) and Marshall et al (1988).

Wright's work formed part of an international research project investigating class structure and class consciousness in the advanced capitalist societies. As was pointed out earlier, the point of Wright's latest work was to reformulate the notion of social class and then to use this as an independent variable in a social survey. Many of the technical and fieldwork aspects of Wright's survey are not reported in his published work and so cannot be reported here. However, his operationalisation of social class (which is reported below) and the items which he used to construct a 'class consciousness' scale are published and these can be presented here.

As Wright (1985, p 253) himself points out, his questionnaire contained a broad range of attitudinal items concerned with both industrial and distributional issues. The class consciousness scale, however was constructed using the industrial items only. Two examples of these items are:

1. Corporations benefit owners at the expense of workers and consumers;
2. Striking workers are generally justified in physically preventing strikebreakers from entering the place of work.

Each of the eight items was coded -1 if they took a procapitalist class position, +1 if they took a working class position and 0 if they said they didn't know. The results of crosstabulations and

regression analyses between the class consciousness scale and the reformulated social class classification scheme were used to determine the extent of class consciousness in the United States and Sweden, (Wright, 1985, p 275).

Marshall, Newby, Rose and Vogler's (1988) recent study is the British component of Wright's international project but is broader in scope as it makes us of both Wright's and a reformulated Weberian notion of social class in its attempt to explain social attitudes and class consciousness (p 21). To the credit of Marshall et al, the technical details of their survey have been published and they are open to the scrutiny of interested parties (1988, p 288-292).

The questionnaire is a replication of Wright's but also contains items which are of specific interest to its authors. In contrast to Wright's effort, the 'class consciousness' scale which was used by Marshall et al was constructed from items which were concerned with both industrial and distributional issues. It is of more interest, therefore, to those who are involved in the study of social welfare. The items in the scale were concerned with: a) subjective class identification; b) perceptions of existing class inequalities; c) support for market principles; d) redistribution of income to the low paid and those in receipt of social security benefits; and e) taxation of private industry. Responses to the items were coded according to their pro capitalist/worker content and aggregated. This provided the basis for subsequent multi-variable analyses using the two social class classification schemes.

Wright's survey was based on two national samples, one in the United States and one in Sweden. The US survey, which was conducted by telephone, was based on a random sample of 1761 adults who were selected from clusters of telephone numbers. The Swedish survey was based on a random sample of 1145 adults selected from a national list of the population (Wright, 1985, p 160).

Marshall's survey was based on a sample which was designed to achieve 2000 interviews with adults who were not in full-time education but who were otherwise representative of the population of the UK. The sample was designed by stratifying Parliamentary constituencies by four variables: standard region, density per hectare, party voted for in the last general election and percentage owner occupation. Out of 100 selected constituencies, 200 polling districts were randomly selected, two from each constituency. Respondents were randomly selected from these polling districts.

These two studies set out to measure class consciousness using an industrial exploitation scale in the first case and a scale which involved industrial and distribution attitudinal items in the second case. Although Wright's scale is of little interest to those who are investigating attitudes to welfare, it could be argued on methodological grounds that his scale is more robust since the items which constitute it are concerned with one dimension of class relations in capitalist society only, industrial relations. It appears to be a general convention in the empirical study of attitudes that the items which are used to construct scales should measure the same thing. This is the rule of undimensionality or homegeneity (Oppenheim, 1966, p 121). It is not clear if Marshall et al have observed this rule as the scale used is composed of items which are concerned with both economic and social policy. A number of writers (Lash, 1984, Duke and Edgell, 1986) have stressed the importance of the empirical distinction between industrial and political consciousness.

This importance has been observed by Duke and Edgell (1984, 1986) in their latest study which is concerned with public perceptions of the effects of this Conservative government's fiscal policies. Three scales, each comprised of five items, represented industrial radicalism, political radicalism and [public] spending radicalism. Again, responses were classified as dominant or radical depending on the total scores obtained. Examples of the items which were used in the three scales are as follows.

a) Political - [The government] should redistribute income and wealth;
b) Industrial - [it is still] necessary for people to strike;
c) Spending - [The government] should abolish prescription charges in the NHS.

The Plymouth survey which is reported in detail in this thesis, followed in the tradition of quantitative survey research into public perceptions of welfare issues which has just been outlined.

First, the questionnaire contained items which were concerned with preferred levels of public spending on services or aspects of services. This is an ongoing element of research into welfare attitudes and it is not hard to see why as public perceptions in this area have implications, of whatever nature, for the fiscal policies of central government. These items were not priced and there were two reasons for this. First, they were component parts of Likert scales and it is difficult to relate price to policy in the space of one attitude statement. Second, and related to the last point, these items were concerned with values about the desirability of state spending on groups and services rather than evaluations of such policies based purely on financial considerations.

In addition to the now standard component of surveys which looks at public perceptions of public fiscal policy, the study developed the work of Taylor-Gooby (1986) in looking at the experiences of clients of welfare services. This study differed from Taylor-Gooby's in two ways. First, it included questions about housing provision whilst Taylor-Gooby's did not. Second, Taylor-Gooby's study involved the use of depth interviews which were administered to a subset of his national sample. When quantitative and qualitative methods are combined, the respective weaknesses of each method are ameliorated. Although a combination of methods such as that employed in Taylor-Gooby's last study was not attempted in

the Plymouth Study, provision was made in the questionnaire for the verbatim comments made by respondents about a large number of Likert items to be recorded.

Third, the questionnaire incorporated those relevant developments in the empirical analysis of class consciousness. The questionnaire included a reformulated operationalization of social class based on Wright's (1985) most recent work in addition to the Registrar General's schema. A certain amount of effort was made to ensure that the scales which were intended to measure consciousness (or radicalism) were uni-dimensional ,This was reflected in the fact that the scales, which were concerned with the social welfare aspect of class attitudes only, can be distinguished by the focus of their concerns, which were the expenditure or the participation aspect of the welfare state.

With the exception of Taylor-Gooby and Wright (1985) the external critique of survey research into attitudes to welfare has not been addressed by its protagonists (at least not in published form). It is true that the arguments have been well rehearsed in the literature but they need restating if only to re-affirm the point that the survey method has the capacity to produce reliable and valid knowledge about welfare attitudes in particular and about the social world in general.

Those who argue against the use of the social survey as a method for collecting attitudinal data do so on a number of grounds. First, it has been argued that the survey method does not meet one of the methodological requirements upon which it is based; ie standardization across individual interviews. Interviews are social situations and as such contain elements which are unique. At best, this means that survey data are inevitably biased (Cicourel, 1964). At worst, it is impossible to attach equivalence to the product (data) of these situations (Benson and Hughes, 1983). The production of bias can be circumvented by the introduction of greater rigour into the processes of survey design and fieldwork. However, the argument suggests, when taken to its extreme, that the data which is produced by survey interviews is merely a record of the interaction

which transpired in the situation in which it was produced. The obvious answer to this criticism is that attitude surveys produce data which are validated by subsequent surveys and by events in society such as voting patterns at elections. Survey interviews are more than a record of the interaction between interviewer and respondent. That Survey data are, in fact, an indirect record of events which occur in the real world is reflected in the structure and consistency of survey data over time.

A related argument concerns the extent to which the data produced by survey interviews can be used to measure class attitudes. Bourdieu points out that the survey method produces individualized opinions and contrasts these with the opinions which are produced through participation in collective political action (Bourdieu, 1979). The attitudes which are measured in a specific social situation (the interview) cannot be expected to correspond to those which are formed and expressed in a radically different social situation (collective class activities). As a result, it has been argued that there is little value in attempting to measure class consciousness through survey instruments (Marshall, 1983). An answer to this is to restate the argument about the stability of attitudes across social situations. My assumption, along with Wright's (1985, p 253), "is that the cognitive processes of people have some stability across the artificial setting of an interview and the real life setting of class struggle, and that in spite of the possible distortions of interviews, social surveys can potentially measure these stable elements".

A third criticism of the usefulness of attitude surveys involves the observation that there are frequent discrepancies between verbal and behavioural indices (La-Pierre, 1934, Kutner, 1952, Wilkins and Yarrow, 1952). Attitudinal data does not predict the behaviour of the respondent when confronted with the object of the attitude. This being so, there seems little point in using survey methods to measure verbal statements of attitudes which are unrelated to behaviour. The question which needs to be addressed when considering this criticism is the reason why the attitude which is expressed in the interview situation does not become operational in conditions where a behavioural

response is required. One answer to this question could be that survey instruments do not have the capacity to measure the attitudes which are implicated in the social action, because attitudes are expressed in social action. This is the slippage between responses to the artificial choices presented in a survey and the real choices of social practice which was discussed above. However, if one accepts that cognitive processes have stability across a range of social situations, the reason for discrepancies between verbal reports of attitudes to interviewers and social action must be located elsewhere. In this respect, Fishbein (1976) and his colleagues have suggested that a range of variables may intervene between behavioural intention (as expressed in the interview situation) and behavioural outcome. This suggests that both situational factors and behavioural intention are implicated in social action, but that the causal mix of the two varies according to the situation (Lemon, 1973). Behavioural intention, as expressed in the survey interview situation, does influence behavioural outcome, but the relationship between the two is variable and must be treated as such by the social scientist.

A final criticism concerns the validity of generalising from one level of analysis to another. Mills (1959, p79) questions the practice of making generalisations about macro-social processes from 'individual' responses to survey questionnaires. In answer to this criticism, it is possible to suggest that individualised opinions are bound up in macro-social processes (Wright, 1985, p 253) and that these individual responses can be aggregated by way of social classification to enable generalisations to be made about specific social aggregates (Smith, 1981, Marsh, 1982).

At this stage, two questions require addressing. First, what is the status of attitudinal data in the light of the above discussion? Second, under what circumstances should social surveys be used to study social and political attitudes?

Under circumstances where all efforts have been made to circumvent sources of bias which become evident in the design and fielding of questionnaires, the data which are produced by social

surveys tell us something about stable attitudinal dispositions of respondents. Moreover, this data provides reliable and valid knowledge about processes in which respondents are involved, whether this involves a discussion with the next door neighbour about the length of the waiting lists for non-acute surgery in the NHS or involvement in the collective situation of a local anti-poll tax union. Generalisations can be made from these individual responses to the level of collective action, but since situational factors are also bound up in this action, its nature cannot always be predicted from what is known about attitudinal disposition.

Under what circumstances should surveys be used to generate data which is concerned with social and political attitudes? In principle the method used will depend on the subject area of the study. Where inter-individual phenomena are the focus of the study, direct observation may be the appropriate method (Smith, 1981).

However, direct observation has a weakness which may render it inappropriate as a method for studying mass attitudes. Direct observation is expensive and can be conducted on a small scale only. This being so, it isn't always possible to generalise from the results of such studies to larger populations. In addition, direct observation frequently involves many interviewers which itself may incur additional bias. This then, is the central reason for using the survey method as a means for conducting research into public attitudes about social welfare. It is often the case that survey research is the 'only' way of studying social and political attitudes (Marsh, 1982) in a way which enables valid generalizations to be made about the social world.

To define the status of quantitative attitudinal data and to point to the circumstances in which social surveys should be used to collect such data, Taylor Gooby suggests that: "opinion surveys provide an account of the general structure of political ideas that is difficult to obtain from any other source. Provided the evidence is interpreted with care it may help in assessing issues about the contribution of changes in public ideas to public policy" (1985, pp 22-23).

Section Two - Operationalization of Concepts

i) Class

There are three choices to be made prior to an empirical investigation of class structures. The first concerns the conception and consequent operationalization of class. The second concerns the unit of analysis to which the framework is to be applied and the third concerns the nature of the population which is considerred to be the empirical object of class analysis.

The principal occupational and social class schemes which are used in British social research, which are Wright's 'Marxist' social class scheme, Goldthorpe's most recent occupational class scheme and the RG scheme, were all outlined in Chapter Two. The Plymouth survey utilized both Wright's and the Registrar General's schemes.

There are a number of issues involved when deciding on the unit of analysis to which the class classification scheme should be applied. Stanworth (1984), arguing for the practice of classifying individuals rather than household, suggests that the direct occupational experiences of housewives are more relevant to their attitudes and aviour than the occupational experiences of another member of the household. Conversely, Goldthorpe maintains that the household acts as the basic unit of economic strategy and is therefore more appropriate as a unit of class analysis (1983). Erikson (1984) takes a pragmatic view when he suggests that the unit of analysis should depend on the nature of the study. This is echoed by Duke and Edgell (1987) who distinguish between two types of study which are relevant to class analysis. In studies of work or work related issues, the individual is the appropriate unit of analysis. In studies of consumption or consumption related issues, the household is the appropriate unit of analysis, as it is the basic unit of consumption.

When the household is used as the unit of analysis, the problem arises as to which indicator should be used to define it class location. The usual practice is to define the household class location in terms of the occupation of the 'male head of household' and

although this practice has been advocated by some writers (Bechhofer, 1969, Goldthorpe, 1983), others adopt the view that there is no a priori reason why the male should determine the household class (Stanworth, 1984). There are three alternative procedures.

The first employs a system of joint classification where the occupations of both spouses are taken into account (Health and Britain, 1983). It has been noted that this procedure may generate a spurious picture of class mobility (Goldthorpe, 1983) owing to the frequency with which women move between manual and non-manual occupations.

The second procedure is to use a set of indicators which apply both to the respondent and other members of the household (Dex, 1985). Such a procedure would describe more accurately the circumstances of the household but is complicated and therefore difficult to devise, and to apply in the context of an interview situation.

The third possibility is to take into account all members of the household, identify the highest occupational class and define the household class in terms of this. This procedure is based on the 'principle of dominance' (Hang, 1973, Erikson, 1984) and it is the procedure which was adopted in the Plymouth survey. There were two advantages to following this procedure. First, it avoids the problem of making apriori assumptions about 'male' heads of household. In fact, no assumptions were made about the gender composition of households. This procedure should therefore be acceptable to feminist methodologists. Second, it was relatively easy to implement in the interview situation as most respondents were prepared to provide occupation related information about themselves or their partners. However, owing to the difficulty of making intra household comparisons between occupations in the interview situation, the 'highest wage-earner' was substituted for the 'highest social class'.

A third decision which has to be made before any attempt is made at the empirical study of class structure concerns the population to which a conception of class is to be applied. The basic choice confronting the observer is between the economically active population only and the total population, although in practice, this choice is complicated by the incidence of varying degrees of economic activity in the population.

The advantage of using the economically active population only as a basis for applying class classification schemes is that it is convenient, obviating as it does the need to classify the inactive categories. However, such a procedure must inevitably produce a distorted view of the class structure as 40% of the population are economically inactive (Central Statistical Office, 1985). Duke and Edgell (1987) point out that "generalisations about the class structure and class relationships are likely to be less than totally valid when they are based on such a small and unrepresentative section of the population".

All households are implicated in the class structure in one capacity or another although their inclusion in sampling frames may depend on the nature of the study in question. It has been suggested, for instance, that it may be sufficient to include the economically active only in studies of work related issues (Duke and Edgell, 1987). Conversely, studies of consumption related issues may require the inclusion of all households. Since the Plymouth study was concerned with one major aspect of household consumption, social welfare, the latter procedure was used. Where the main wage earner was unemployed, previous occupation was used to assign a household class.

The Registrar General's scheme has six categories based on occupation and equates class with the level of skill involved in different occupations. This is represented by the contents of Figure Two.

Figure Two Occupational Class: The Registrar General's Categories

I Professional occupations.
eg doctors, lawyers.

II Intermediate occupations (managerial and lower professional).
eg teachers, managers.

III Skilled occupations.
Often divided into:
III N Non-manual. eg. clerks, shop assistants.
III M Manual. eg bricklayers, coal miners below ground.

IV Semi skilled occupations.
eg bus conductors, postmen.

V Unskilled occupations.
eg general labourers; porters.

VI Unclassified.
The armed forces, students, those about whom there is not information, those whose occupations do not fit into the classification.

It is up to the coders of responses to questionnaires to interpret the self-reported occupations of respondents in terms of the information contained in 'Classification of Occupations 1982' (OPCS, 1982). It has been suggested that this may lead to coding error as the categories are not precisely formulated (Marshall et al 1988, p 20). Indeed, this possibility of coding error has apparently been confirmed by a number of tests over the course of the last 20 years (Marshall et al, 1988, p 21).

Wrights' most recent 'Marxist' social class classification scheme has twelve categories which were generated by intersecting three putative dimensions of exploitation in advanced capitalist societies. These are based on organisation assets, skill credential assets and capital ownership. These were operationalized for the purposes of the Plymouth survey according to Wrights' formulae, which are as follows.

Organisation assets. The most complex problem of variable construction concerned organisation assets. As Figure Three indicates, this variable was constructed on three sets of questionnaire items. These items concerned decision-making, authority and place in the formal organisation hierarchy.

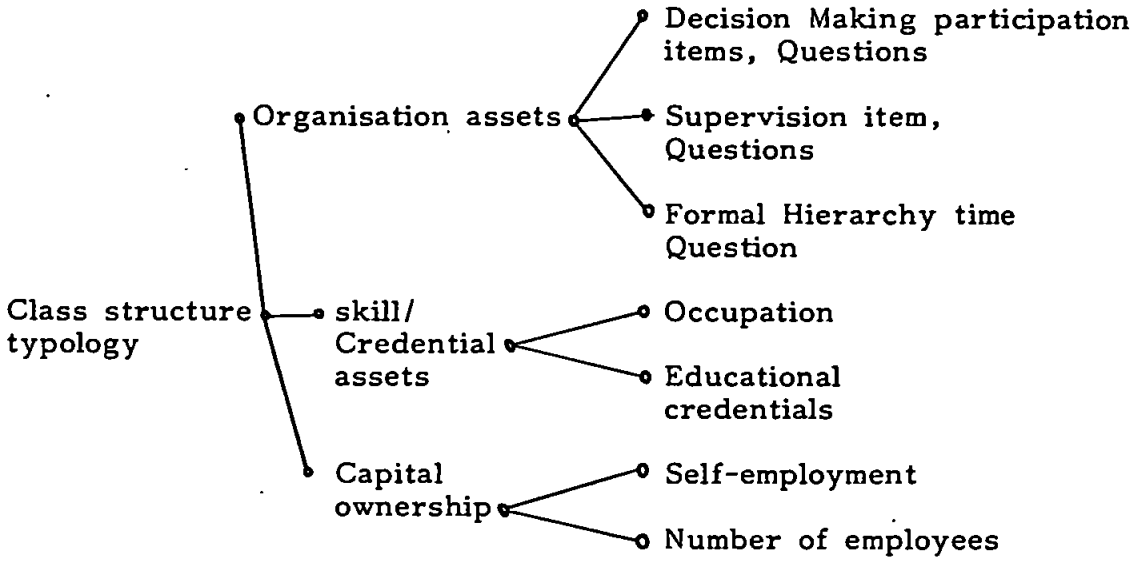
1. Decision Making. Questions were asked concerning the extent to which respondents are involved in decision making at their workplace. Depending on the response, the respondent was classified in one of three ways; a) decision maker; b) advisor; and c) non-decision maker.
2. Authority. Questions were designed to elicit information concerning responsibility for imposing sanctions on employees, responsibility for deciding the worktasks of employees, and supervision responsibility without power to impose sanctions or decide on tasks. Depending on the nature of the response, the respondent was classified in one of four ways; a) sanctioning supervisor; b) task supervisor; c) nominal supervisor; and d) non-supervisor.

Respondents were then asked about their place in the formal organisational hierarchy, and classified as manager, supervisor or non-manager.

The final results of the decision-making, authority and formal hierarchy classifications were then aggregated.

Skill credential assets. Two criteria were invoked when classifying the respondent in terms of his skill/credential assets. The first was occupation which tells the observer something about the level of skill involved in the respondent's job. Following Wright's procedure, knowledge of formal educational qualification was combined with this information. The way in which the variable skill/credential assets was constructed is outlined in Table Eight.

Figure Three The operationalization of Wright's social class classification scheme



Capital Ownership. Respondents were classed as wage labourers or various types of owners of capital depending on their answers to two questions concerning self-employment or the number of employees that they had. They were classified in one of four ways: a) wage labourers; b) petty bourgeoisie, (self-employed with less than two employees); c) small employers (two to nine employees); and d) capitalists (10 or more employees).

The information concerning organisation assets, skill credential assets and capital ownership was then used to place the respondent in one of the 12 social class locations contained in Figure Four.

Figure Four. Assets in the means of production

Owners of means of production	Non-owners [wage labourers]		
1. Bourgeoisie	4. Expert Managers	7. Semi Credentialled Managers	10. Uncredentialled Managers
2. Small Employers	5. Expert Supervisors	8. Semi Credentialled Supervisors	11. Uncredentialled Supervisors
3. Petty Bourgeoisie	6. Expert non-managers	9. Semi Credentialled Workers	12. Proletarians

ii) Consumption Sector.

Consumption sector was operationalized using three consumption items as the basis for classifying households. This is represented in Figure Five.

Figure Five. Variable construction for consumption sector

	Private sector	Public sector
Housing	Owner occupation	Local authority rented
Transport	Private transport	Public transport
Health Care	Private health insurance	State health care only

Each household was classified according to the degree of private or public consumption of the three services. To a baseline score of zero, the number of publicly consumed services was added and the number of privately consumed services is subtracted. This gives a range of +3 to -3. Those who fell on the minus side of zero were classified as being involved in predominantly private consumption sectoral locations whilst those on the plus side of zero were classified as being involved in predominantly public consumption sectoral locations.

Additional variables used for analysis were trade union membership, involvement in trade union activity, party identification and housing tenure.

ii) Attitudes to welfare

Six Likert scales were used in this study and each was comprised of ten items. The scales were designed to measure attitudes towards two dimensions of welfare provision across three services, housing, health and social security. As explained earlier, the two dimensions of service provision upon which the Likert scales were based were 'expenditure' and 'participation'. The scales were designed to measure the extent of radicalism in people's attitudes to welfare. With the expenditure scales, two aspects of service provision were used as a focus for attitudes. These were: a) levels of state spending on the service as whole and b) inequalities in service provision and in welfare generally. The way in which the expenditure scales were designed to measure radicalism is presented diagrammatically in Figure Six.

Figure Six. Conceptualizing spending and distributive radicalism

Radicalism	Conservatism
Higher State spending	Lower state spending
Reduction of inequalities	Maintenance of inequalities

With the control scales, three aspects of service provision were used as a focus for attitudes. These were: a) choice - the desire for more consumer choice in service provision, b) voice - the desire for mechanisms to facilitate the expression of consumer interests in the service, and c) control - the desire for consumers to have more of a say in way the service is run. This conception is presented in Figure Seven.

Figure Seven. Conceptualizing participation radicalism

Radicalism	Conservatism
More choice	Status Quo
More voice	Status Quo
Control	Status Quo

Some of the questions which were designed to represent the aspects of service provision in Figures Six and Seven are presented below.

Health Expenditure	Private medical care gives people an unfair advantage	- Inequalities
	Spending on the NHS has gone too far and should be cut back	- General spending
Health participation	It is important that people who use the NHS can see the doctor of their choice	- choice
	Doctors and consultants always know what is best for patients	- control
	There are not enough female doctors and consultants in the NHS	- voice
Housing Expenditure	The state takes too much responsibility for people's housing	- general spending
	The government should do more to help those living in poor housing conditions	- inequalities
Housing participation	Elderly people in residential homes should have more of a say in the way they are run	- voice
	Council housing would be more desirable if people had more choice about the sort of housing they could get	- choice
	Council tenants should have more control over the way their estates are managed	- control

Social Security Expenditure	People complain too much about poverty	- inequalities
	The government should take more responsibility for the financial well being of elderly people	- general spending
Social Security Control	The social security system interferes too much in people's lives	- control
	Ordinary people need more information about the way the social security system works	- voice

In Likert's formulation, the correct procedure to be followed when producing individual items is to consult the literature and to conduct depth interviews where the topics covered are structured around the aims of the study (Oppenheim, 1966, p 134). In the case of the items presented above, depth interviews were omitted during the course of their construction, and for two reasons. First, there wasn't sufficient time to conduct depth interviews prior to questionnaire construction. Second, as a fairly substantial amount of work has been conducted in the area of welfare attitudes, it was felt that such work would provide a suitable and sufficient starting point in the formulation of the above items.

However, the sixty Likert items were piloted along with the rest of the questionnaire and then tested for internal validity by correlating individual scores for each item, with the total scores for the scales to which they belong. This is reported below.

Semantic Differential Scales. One problem with the Likert scale is that it has the capacity to measure only one dimension of attitudes, ie an evaluative dimension where the object of the attitude is rated in a positive or negative way. A number of studies have suggested that there are at least two other dimensions underlying a person's judgements (Osgood, et al, 1957). These are: a) the individual's

perception of the 'potency' of an object or concept and b) the individual's perception of the 'activity' of an object or concept.

These three dimensions of attitudes were measured by presenting an object or concept to a respondent and then asking him or her to place himself at a point on a continuum between two polar descriptions of the object or concept. This is demonstrated below with an example.

Example

This card lists ideas about government welfare provision. That is, the idea that everyone pays taxes so that services and benefits can be given to those who need them. Can you tell me what you feel about these ideas by saying where you stand on each line?

Good	:_:_:_:_:_:_:_:	Bad	- evaluation
Inefficient	:_:_:_:_:_:_:_:	Efficient	- activity
Effective	:_:_:_:_:_:_:_:	Ineffective	- potency

Three semantic differential scales each representing different concepts, were presented to respondents. The concepts were: a) state welfare provision; b) consumer choice in welfare provision; and c) consumer participation in welfare provision. Each scale contained a set of nine possible judgements, three representing the evaluation dimension, three representing the potency dimension and three representing the activity dimension of attitudes. These scales are presented for examination in one appendix to this thesis.

In addition to these scales, provision was made in the format of the questionnaire for recording the unprompted comments made by respondents about the content of the individual Likert items. The purpose of this was to test the salience of the issues expressed in the statements to respondents and to generate an account of their perceptions of welfare issues from their own words.

The first draft of the questionnaire, which included most of the contents of the questionnaire which is presented in this thesis, was piloted over the period of a month during December 1987 and January 1988. It was administered to thirty respondents who were divided equally between those who belonged to manual and non-manual households.

Most of the Likert scales worked quite well during the course of interviewing although a small number were cumbersome and difficult to present. They were either misunderstood or not understood at all.

The Semantic Differential scales were very difficult to present and a number of respondents failed to interpret them in a meaningful way, even after detailed explanation. The first problem arose when the concept or object of evaluation; choice in welfare, for instance. The presenting statement sometimes failed to convey the appropriate meaning, or any meaning at all; they were too abstract. The second problem was encountered when presenting the terms through which the objects were to be evaluated. Terms such as dynamic, active and passive often appeared to be quite meaningless to respondents when presented in the context of a concept such as choice in welfare.

However, very few problems were encountered in the administration of the non-attitudinal questions and these went into the second draft of the questionnaire in a largely unaltered form.

Following this piloting, the sixty Likert items were tested for internal validity by correlating the individual scores for the scales to which they belonged. This is a standard procedure and its purpose is to measure undimensionality. Forty three of the statements generated co-efficients with values of around 0.5 and higher. Those that didn't were rephrased or replaced with simpler and more direct statements. The Semantic Differential scales were also amended although it was difficult to transform some of the more abstract terms they contained into concrete reference points which would be readily understood by respondents.

Section Three. Sampling social collectivities in Plymouth

It is possible to collect data about the social and economic characteristics of populations in a variety of ways. For instance, the governments' Office of Population and Census Statistics collects information of this kind every decade in the National Census from every household in the UK. However, the state has enormous resources at its disposal which it can use to provide the logistical framework for such large scale data collection whilst most social scientists do not.

Most social surveys are therefore implemented on the basis of sampling procedures which enable units or respondents to be selected from the population which is to be investigated. Sampling is relatively inexpensive and it enables inferences to be made from the sample about the characteristics of the target population.

A number of sampling procedures are available. For instance, a sampling frame can be compiled for use by fieldworkers by randomly selecting units from lists of members of the entire population. This is sometimes referred to as probability sampling (Blalock, 1985). Conversely, fieldworkers can make use of quota controls which are devised on the basis of specific population characteristics which are relevant to the aims of the study. The essential difference between random and quota sampling results from the way in which respondents are selected for interviewing. With random sampling a mechanical procedure is used in accordance with the principal that each has an equal chance of being selected. Once the procedure is set in motion, human judgement is eliminated from the process. With non-probability sampling, however, fieldworkers are free to select respondents within the limits set by the quota controls. It is this element of human judgement which some would maintain is an unacceptable source of error and bias, in that it can produce samples which are unrepresentative. Clearly, if this were the case, inferences made on the basis of data generated in this way would be of little use to the analyst. Fortunately, it isn't. When adequate safeguards are employed, highly representative samples can be obtained through non-probability sampling (Moser and Kalton, 1971, Blalock, 1985).

The major problem with the procedure is that it doesn't allow confidence limits to be attached to the population estimates it generates. Sampling error cannot, therefore, be estimated.

Against this must be counted the inherent advantages of non-probability sampling. First, it is relatively economical in terms of the time and resources which are necessary to complete fieldwork. Second, the procedure ensures that the sample includes respondents with specific characteristics which may be important to the aims of the study (Moser and Kalton, 1971, Smith, 1981). It is in the light of these advantages that the decision to use a non-probability sampling procedure for the Plymouth survey should be seen.

More specifically, two features of the Plymouth survey necessitated the use of a non-probability procedure. First the central purpose of the Plymouth survey was to generate data which would enable generalizations to be made about the welfare attitudes of social collectivities. More specifically, I wanted to get at different points of the social structure in order to make comparisons. In view of this, a sample including sufficient numbers of respondents in the various theoretically relevant categories, rather than a representative sample of Plymouth's population was required for the purposes of the analysis. Accordingly, a random sample was not required on strict methodological grounds. Furthermore, a non-probability procedure was more appropriate to the aims of the survey.

Second, and in view of the fact that only one fieldworker was available to complete 150 interviews, a random sample was impractible. Random sampling procedures often entail repeated attempts to successfully interview respondents, considerably lengthening the time that it take to complete fieldwork. Moreover, the problem of non-response can often mean that a sample with the required characteristics is not achieved.

The quota controls which were used to sample social collectivities in Plymouth were devised in accordance with the principle that there should be sufficient numbers in each of the categories in order to facilitate meaningful analyses.

The categories on which the quotas are based are, in fact the same categories which informed the analyses which are reported in Chapters Six and Eight. Thus occupational class is central to the themes and issues which are addressed in this thesis. Similarly, pensions and housing tenure are central to consumption sector the significance of which is evaluated in Chapter Eight. Unemployment, on the other hand, is a central feature of Pahl's theoretical work on the distinction between the 'middle mass' and the 'underclass'. It was important to ensure that respondents belonging to these groups were adequately represented in the sample. It was also necessary to ensure that respondents of both sexes were adequately represented.

The question is, 'what is adequate representation?' The usual convention, which is applied when analysing subgroup responses is that the smallest should number at least fifty (Jowell and Airey, 1984, p 164). In view of this, theoretically relevant subgroup based quotas should require that at least fifty respondents be sampled. However, this would have presented problems in the context of the Plymouth survey which was based on a sample of only 150. With such a small sample, an over-representation of respondents in one category may have produced an under-representation of respondents in other categories of the same variable. Seen in this light, it was felt that the quota controls should require that at least twenty five respondents should be sampled.

This is reflected in Table Nine which is a diagrammatical presentation of the quota controls. With pensioners, it was necessary to sample evenly from the occupational class groups in order to locate respondents who were involved in both private and state pension schemes. Similarly, although gender wasn't central to the aims of the study, it was felt that an equal representation of both sexes in all of the occupational classes was essential, particularly in view of the fact that welfare is a consumption issue involving all members of the household. Conversely, no requirements were specified as to the occupational class location of the twenty five unemployed respondents who were to be interviewed. It will be noted that twenty five manual owner occupiers were to be sampled. This was necessary in order to generate a total sample which would enable the consumption sector

hypothesis to be tested. The characteristics of the sample which was achieved are discussed in Chapter Five in the light of these controls.

The geographical areas from which the respondents were to be sampled were selected according to the distribution of households among the four occupational class categories in Plymouth. Information on the distribution of occupational class by ward in Plymouth is presented in Table Ten. The four wards which were selected for interviewing were those with the largest concentrations of households in the four occupational categories. These were:

a) Compton - I/II
b) Plymstock Radford - IIIN
c) Ham - IIIM
d) Budshead - IV/V.

Through further analyses of the 1981 Census data, but this time at enumeration district level within the four wards, it was possible to identify those specific streets where the sampling could proceed. However, this information was interpreted as constituting a 'rough' guide as it was seven years out of date at the time of interviewing.

Section Four. Fieldwork

The interview schedules were administered to respondents between 7 February and 10 May in 1988 in selected enumeration districts by one fieldworker. Interviews were sought by systematic door-knocking on weekdays between 10.00 am and 8.00 pm. If bias is to be kept to a minimum, interviewing should take place during evenings and at weekends. This wasn't possible, however, owing to the limited nature of the resources which were available to facilitate the completion of fieldwork. One hundred and forty three of the intended 150 sample units were interviewed. The reason why the full intended sample was not obtained was simply that the fieldwork had extended beyond the time limit and it was necessary to begin the next stage of coding and analysis. In the event, it was felt that another seven successful interviews would not measureably add to the quality of the data. The characteristics of this sample are contained in a later chapter of this thesis where the typicality of the sample is assessed. The mean length of interviews was approximately 30 minutes.

It is believed that 'social welfare' was salient in the minds of respondents at the time of interviewing as a result of the issues which were being covered by the media during this period. These issues were as follows. First, there was considerable coverage of nurses' demands for higher salaries and the Royal College of Nursing's internal debate about it's no-strike policy. Second debates about the funding of the NHS and whether this should operate via private or public channels had a high public profile during this period. The alleged consequences of insufficient funding such as staff shortages, lengthening waiting lists and ward closures were also widely reported. Third, the Social Security Act came into effect on 11 April and its alleged pros and cons were discussed over a period of time beforehand and afterwards on television news and documentaries and in the national newspapers. Most respondents appeared to have a knowledge of current issues, displaying varying degrees of awareness.

Fifty per cent of those individuals who were approached to be interviewed refused on the grounds that they didn't have enough time or they were not interested in the aims of the survey. A number of those who were successfully interviewed were initially unwilling but were persuaded after a certain amount of persistence on the part of the interviewer. Of the rest, a proportion were quite happy to be interviewed and even expressed a certain amount of enthusiasm about the aims of the survey. Many full-time employees who were interviewed were not very amenable and tended to grant interviews on the basis that they were putting themselves out to do a favour. The image was conveyed by the interviewer that this grudging participation was greatly appreciated.

Few problems were encountered when presenting the contents of the questionnaire to the respondents. Apart from some difficulty in administering the Semantic Differential scales, the questionnaire items were easily understood by most of the respondents who were able to make meaningful responses. This enables a positive comment to be made about the value of piloting.

A comment about sources of bias which were present during fieldwork is necessary. First, there is the problem, discussed earlier in this chapter that the 'social' nature of the interview may have an effect on the data produced by this situation. The way in which respondents interacted with the interviewer sometimes varied according to their sociological profiles. Some respondents had a greater knowledge and understanding of welfare issues than others. More detailed explanation sometimes accompanied the presentation of particular questions or items to respondents. It cannot be argued, therefore, that the same stimulus was presented to every respondent.

Second, there is the effect that non-response may have on the overall quality of the data. It will be noted in the chapter dealing with the 'characteristics of the sample', for instance, that certain categories of respondent are under-represented. Unfortunately, it isn't possible to assess the effect that interviewer error and non-response bias have had on the overall quality of the data.

Conclusion

In this chapter, three aspects of the survey have been examined. These included a justification for the survey in terms of previous work in this area and in terms of sociological debates about the usefulness of the survey as a method for generating attitudinal data, a discussion of the way in which the central research concepts were operationalized, a discussion of the way in which the sample was designed and a commentary on the fieldwork process.

The survey was justified on the grounds that it maintains continuity with the tradition of research into welfare attitudes and it does this in three ways. First, it maintains continuity by including in the subject matter an issue which is addressed by all other surveys and this is public expenditure on welfare services. This enables comparison of the Plymouth survey data and the results of those preceding studies and enables comments to be made about the reliability of this data. Second, the study maintains continuity in that its' subject areas of investigation are a logical development of the concerns of preceding work in the area of attitudes to welfare. Third, the study maintains continuity by developing the quantitative aspects of work in this area particularly the tools which were used to measure attitudes and social class.

Earlier studies of public attitudes to welfare have a quantitative bias and for a good reason. It is difficult to avoid biased and partial accounts of the social world using qualitative methods owing to their necessarily small nature. The survey method, in contrast, is relatively inexpensive and because of this can be used to investigate research concerns in a much larger population. In addition, the structured questionnaire facilitates a much greater degree of standardisation across interview/observations. Because it is relatively inexpensive and standardized, the structured questionnaire is an ideal tool for exploring sociological phenomena which operate through social aggregates: phenomena such as class attitudes, for instance. However, it is necessary to ensure that one is not imposing meaningless or irrelevant concepts on the social world. The

unprompted comments which were made by respondents were therefore recorded in order to avoid this.

The central research concepts were operationalized in a way which met the requirements set by existing work in the area. The class classification schemes which were used were appropriate as they took into account the traditional sociological distinction between manual and non-manual employment plus the range of positions in the middle of the class structure which are said to have emerged as a result of trends in post-war economic development in the UK.

Individuals were interviewed, but they were classified according to their household class rather than their own specific work situation. This was accomplished by applying the 'principle of dominance', where the household class is defined in terms of the highest single occupational class in the household.

The Likert scales were formulated, piloted, tested for internal validity and fielded. They worked quite well!

Conversely, the Semantic Differential scales were difficult to handle and because of this, the data which they generated are not presented in the main body of this thesis.

The procedures which were used to generate a sample took into account the aims of the Plymouth survey and the resources which were available to implement it. First, quota sampling was more appropriate in that this procedure enabled specific categories of respondent to be located with comparative ease. Second quota sampling is less demanding logistically than random sampling. Thus it was ideally suited to a situation where 150 interviews were to be completed by one fieldworker within a period of three months.

Table Eight. Variable construction for skill/credential assets.

	Occupation	Education credential
Experts	Professional	
	Managers	BA or more
	Manager	BA or more
	Technicians	
Marginal	Schoolteachers	
	Craftworkers	
	Managers	Less than BA
	Technicians	Less than BA
	Sales	BA or more
	Clerical	BA or more
Uncredentialled	Sales	Less than BA
	Clerical	Less than BA
	Manual non crafts	

Table Nine. Quota Controls for the Plymouth Survey (N=150)

Occupational Class		Pensioners	Unemployed	Gender		Owner Occupiers
				Male	Female	
I/II	50	15	-	30	50	-
IIIN	25					
IIIM	25	15	-	30	30	25
IV/V	50					
Any	-	-	25	15	15	50
Total	150	30	25	75	75	75

* All respondents aged 18 or over at the time of interveiwing.

Table Ten. The distribution of households in Plymouth among the Registrar Generals' Occupational Class Groups, 1981. (10% sample)

WARD		I/II	IIIN	IIIM	IV/V	N
Budshead	%	9	11	44	36	242
Compton	%	48	16	26	11	232
Drake	%	30	20	35	15	288
Efford	%	18	16	39	26	237
Eggbuckland	%	31	11	38	19	280
Estover	%	33	16	33	18	328
Ham	%	14	10	51	25	207
Honicknowle	%	20	12	35	33	246
Keyham	%	17	13	39	31	261
Mount Gould	%	27	17	36	19	236
Plympton Erle	%	37	13	39	12	293
Plympton St Mary	%	34	22	29	15	254
Plymstock Dunstone	%	41	16	29	14	244
Plymstock Radford	%	36	23	29	13	226
St Budeaux	%	16	15	43	27	218
St Peter	%	16	15	36	33	199
Southway	%	22	12	43	22	308
Stoke	%	32	16	34	18	275
Sutton	%	17	18	37	28	243
Trelawney	%	26	17	36	20	211

CHAPTER FOUR

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR IN PLYMOUTH

How does public dissatisfaction with state welfare become manifest in the public political arena? A number of commentators have argued that the most important symptom of an alleged shift in popular opinion away from a commitment to welfare; or at least services which are provided directly by the state, is an apparent long term decline in the electoral fortunes of the Labour Party. The Labour Party is seen as the party of the social democratic welfare state, a style of government which emerged in response to the demands of a class whose members had nothing but their industrial (or domestic) labour power and of another smaller class whose members required thus labour power in a reasonably healthy form (Gough, 1979, Taylor Gooby and Dale, 1981). The demands ushered in the new phase of 'collective consumption' in welfare, a phase which was presided over by both Conservative and Labour Governments but which was more closely identified with the latter.

As Chapter Two has indicated the alleged shift in public attitudes away from state welfare is said to have resulted from substantial and irreversible changes in the nature of the class structure, changes which have allegedly rendered the collective consumption option obsolete as a tool of public policy (Saunders, 1978, 1984, Pahl, 1984). This social restructuring itself has resulted from deeper changes at the level of the economy.

The U.K. has experienced substantial economic change and restructuring over the course of the post-war period; change which has resulted from developments in the international division of labour and from factors which are unique to the British economy. In terms of the international division of labour, manufacturing industry has shifted location from the advanced industrial nations to the countries of the Third World where labour is often casual and generally inexpensive (Marshall et al, 1988, Sarre, 1989). Banking, commerce and retail services have concomitantly developed in the West. However, although de-industrialisation is peculiar to most of the

advanced industrial economies, it is particularly marked in the U.K. owing to this country's earlier dependence on protected markets in its now defunct empire, the predominance of finance capital over the economic policies of successive British governments and more recently the recession which was generated by the monetarist policies of Conservative governments.

As a result, the range of non-manual occupations has expanded whilst the traditional manual working class has declined. However, a number of commentators have suggested that industrial restructuring has changed the nature of working class life, both at work and in the domestic situation, with the result that working class solidarity and a political orientation to state collectivism have declined. In terms of political orientation and behaviour, affluent manual working class households are influenced less by the 'work situation' of the male head or by the evenings that he spends down at the local working men's club with his workmates and more by domestic considerations and the place of the household in the structure of consumption opportunities, or so it is argued. These 'privatised' manual households have adopted a more instrumental approach to politics, voting or not according to which party appears to be best able to advance their interests, and particularly their interests in relation to household consumption. According to this approach, the principal cleavage in British politics divides the home-owning and consumption orientated majority of households from the minority of deprived households who remain dependent on welfare which is provided directly by the state.

Critics of this approach have argued that homeowners, for instance, are not an homogenous category in terms of their experience of this tenure. Consumption sector theorists have side stepped this point by arguing that it is the 'ideology' rather than the actual experience of consumption that counts (Taylor-Gooby, 1986, P.599). If people believe that they belong to the affluent homeowning mass they will tend to favour the political party which is publicly most clearly associated with their self-perceived consumption interests. In this context, the forward march of Labour has been halted by the high public profile of its association with collective consumption.

The purpose of this chapter is not to assess the relative contribution of occupational class and consumption related factors to voting behaviour in Plymouth. Rather, its purpose is to present a current picture of Plymouth in the light of the debates about industrial restructuring, the changing social structure and the changing nature of politics which were reviewed in Chapter Two. To what extent is Plymouth representative of the U.K. as a whole in terms of the main economic, social and political trends? The following picture was developed on the basis of a range of statistics representing aspects of Plymouth's economy and social structure. They indicated that whilst Plymouth has followed the U.K. in terms of economic and social restructuring,the two paths of development have not been identical. Section one outlines the main features of the local economy and aspects of its development over the course of the post-war period. Section two presents a picture of Plymouth's social structure in terms of ethnicity, class, consumption and social deprivation. In section three, the social structure of Plymouth is related to voting patterns at local elections which were held over the course of the 1980s, the decade of Thatcherism.

Section One: Industrial re-structuring and the changing pattern of employment in Plymouth.

The purpose of the section is to assess the extent to which Plymouth has followed the U.K. in terms of macro-economic trends which have taken shape over the course of the post war period. It is necessary to consider these trends because they are said to have resulted in a significant restructuring of the social structure and consequently a fundamental change in the nature of British politics. To state the situation more clearly, the developments which are considered to be of importance for class structure and politics in the UK are;

i) a substantial decline in the size of manufacturing industry in the U.K.,

ii) a significant growth in the size of the service sector,

iii) the development of large scale unemployment as a permanent feature of the industrial landscape.

The picture of the local economy which follows was developed from an examination of the census data for 1981 and a number of reports on local economic development.

The City of Plymouth has never been one of the great centres of manufacturing industry in the U.K. However, a substantial amount of manual employment was generated by H.M. Armed forces and the Royal Naval dockyards. Table Eleven contains figures for employment in the various industrial sectors in the Plymouth Travel to Work Area for 1981, (Incidentally, the boundaries of the TTWA area do not correspond to the boundaries of the City of Plymouth).

Table Eleven contains location quotients (calculated by dividing the percentage employed in each sector in Plymouth by the corresponding percentage for the UK as a whole). A quotient with a value above 1.00 indicates that an area has an above average involvement in a particular industry whilst the reverse would be true for a quotient below 1.0.. For Plymouth, the only quotient above 1.00 of any significance is that for shipbuilding and marine engineering, which is dominated by the Royal Naval dockyards. It has been estimated the dockyard and the armed forces taken together sustained one third of the local economy at the time the data in Table One were generated. However, since 1981, there have been substantial job losses in the dockyards. This is Plymouth's major contribution to de-industrialisation in the U.K. in the 1980's, brought about not by the long term strategies of multi-national corporations, but by privatisation, another major industrial landmark of this decade. Plymouth has, therefore, experienced a significant decline in manual employment.

The major growth area in the local economy in recent decades has been in the service sector as indicated by the figures in Table Twelve. However, the service sector as a percentage of employment in Plymouth is one of the lowest in the South West region. Similarly, growth in other areas of the economy has been weak, particularly in

industry based on new technology, where Plymouth has one of the lowest rates of employment in the South-West (Plymouth Business School, 1989). The City has experienced a modest amount of growth in light manufacturing industry, encouraged by the policies of the City Council (Report of Plymouth City Council, 1988) but this has made little impact on the overall employment situation in Plymouth, although more women are now in full time employment as a result.

Plymouth has been affected by de-industrialisation but has not participated to the full in the development of services and industry based on new technology. The City therefore has a higher rate of unemployment than many other parts of the U.K. This is indicated by the figures which are contained in Table Thirteen. In 1984, the unemployment rate in Plymouth was higher than the U.K. average. Both rates had fallen by 1988, but unemployment in Plymouth had not fallen to the same extent, as indicated by the figures in row three of Table Three (1988 figures are used because it was at this time that the Plymouth survey was conducted). This may have been due to job-losses in H.M. dockyard, which amounted to 5,300 between 1984 and 1989 (Evening Herald, 29.4.89). Two thousand of these were workers who were made redundant between April 1987 when Devonport Management Limited, an American multi-national corporation, assumed control of the Dockyard and April 1988, when the Plymouth survey was in full swing (Evening Herald 2.4.88). This is likely to have a multiplier effect on the economy, leading to further job losses in other sectors of the local economy.

In sum, the local economy has been depressed by the effects of de-industrialisation, but this has not been compensated for by growth in other areas of industry, at least not to he same extent as for the U.K. economy as a whole. The implication that this may have had for the social structure of Plymouth, as a local variation of the British social structure are considered in the next section.

Section Two: Plymouth's social structure

The national economic trends which have been outlined are argued to have generated substantial and irreversible changes in the social structure of the U.K. (Hobsbawm, 1982, Saunders, 1984, Dunleavy, 1979, Pahl, 1984, Marshall et al, 1988). I am, of course, referring to those macro-social changes which were outlined in the literature review and which allegedly divide social collectivities, patterning the distribution of material resources and consequently generating major differences in political behaviour among the population. Other forms of social cleavage such as racial divisions also characterise the social structure of the U.K., and although such a division does not immediately flow from the national economic trends which are under consideration it would be necessary to consider 'race' as an important variable in an analysis of a local social structure with a large ethnic population.

Contemporary sociological discussions of race focus on the black population because it is more visible and believed to be more discriminated against in social welfare, in the labour market and by the criminal justice system. (Rex, 1973, 1986, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, 1982).

It is difficult to estimate the size of the black population in Plymouth as the local population is not classified according to ethnic origins. However, the Census collects data which relate to the place of birth of residents and although these provide an inaccurate picture of the number of black ethnics living in the City, they can be used as a rough guide. In fact, Plymouth has a very small black population which is randomly distributed. Race is of no significance and does not appear on the local political agenda, as it does say in Hackney, Islington and Brent. Because of this, it does not figure in the description of the social structure which is presented in this chapter.

The two principal changes which have been referred to in the literature and which are explored in the context of Plymouth's social structure are;

i) The decline of the manual working class and the concomitant growth of the non-manual occupations and,

ii) the increased prevalence of private consumption in social welfare and the development of polarisation between an affluent majority and an underprivileged minority.

Plymouth's economy has followed the U.K. in terms of the principal post-war trends, but the two paths of development have not been identical. It was not a surprise, therefore, to learn that the social structure of Plymouth does not mirror exactly that of the U.K.

i) The class structure of Plymouth

Information on occupational class was obtained from the Census, and although this was collected in 1981, there is little reason to suppose that the situation it represents has changed significantly in the last nine years. The figures which are contained in Table Fourteen, indicate that the distribution of male heads of household among the six occupational classes in Plymouth is not unlike the average for the U.K.. However, Plymouth has more manual workers and fewer non-manual workers and this probably results from the slower pace of economic change which was described in the previous section. The manual working class therefore plays a more significant role in descriptions of the local social structure than for the U.K. as a whole. Indeed, it constitutes sixty two percent of Plymouth's population.

ii) Consumption in Plymouth.

It will be recalled from Chapter Two that cleavages based on private consumption are said to have displaced class as the most significant feature of the social structure of the U.K.,

dividing an affluent majority from a deprived minority. If this has occurred at a national level, to what extent has it emerged as a feature of Plymouth's social structure? Is the distribution of consumption and deprivation related factors in Plymouth such as to provide the basis for the existence of an independent axis of stratification based on polarisation in consumption patterns? The main problem which became apparent in the analysis of local data was one of measurement. Official and sociological conceptions of social phenomena are not identical.

Empirical studies of consumption and deprivation have used particular indicators to identify the nature of these phenomena among the population. For instance, those studies which have been based on sample surveys (Townsend, 1979) have allowed the researcher to develop indicators which are multi-faceted and thorough in their representation of the concept. However, such studies do not allow the social scientist to make rigorous comparisons between geographical areas in any comprehensive way. To do this necessitates the use of statistics which are collected by central government and which represent all U.K. households and persons. Such statistics are of a poorer quality in terms of the way in which they can be used as indicators of consumption and deprivation.

Such indicators which have been used are the extent of owner occupation, car ownership and poor housing amenities (Levitt, 1984, Abbott, 1988). Tables Fifteen and Sixteen contain figures which relate to these indicators and all three involve a comparison of their distributions for Plymouth and the U.K..

These data enabled a number of points to be made about the nature of consumption in Plymouth when compared to the U.K. as a whole. First, Saunder's privatised consumption has not developed to the same extent in Plymouth as for the U.K.. This was indicated by an examination of housing tenure in the City and in particular of the extent of owner occupation, which was 66.8% of the housing stock in Plymouth compared to the national average of 74%. Furthermore, the extent of car ownership in

Plymouth is not as great as the National average (Table Fifteen). The converse of this is, of course, the greater extent of 'collective consumption' in Plymouth. A large proportion of local people have to rely on public housing and transport. Similarly, the proportion of households in Plymouth which lack an inside bath or toilet twice as high as the national average (Table Fifteen).

The distribution of consumption related variables in Plymouth bears a resemblance to the picture for the U.K. as a whole but is is not as skewed.

iii) Class and consumption in Plymouth.

This suggested that it might be better to treat consumption in the City as a variable which is related to the distribution of manual and non-manual households, rather than as an independent axis of stratification. In order to explore this as yet tentative hypothesis, the distribution of manual and non-manual households and consumption related variables in the City were compared on an inter-ward basis. The census date for 1981 and data which was made available by the Plymouth Health Authority were used for this purpose.

Table Seventeen contains figures which relate to various indicators of deprivation and which represent their distributions for each of the twenty wards in Plymouth. On most of the indicators, certain wards came out as being deprived or privileged in a consistent way. So for instance, St. Peters was very deprived on all indicators whilst Plympton St. Mary emerged as consistently affluent. A deprivation score, which was a composite of the values of each of the deprivation indicators in Table Seventeen was assigned to each ward in order to give a sense of mathematical proportion to the nature of consumption/deprivation as a sociological variable in Plymouth. The scores were, in fact, derived from recent studies of deprivation in Plymouth (Levitt, 1986, Abbot, 1987). The scores indicated that deprivation is concentrated in wards where there

is a significant concentration of manual households, the first seven wards in Table Seventeen. Collective consumption is concentrated among manual workers. Conversely, affluence and privatised consumption is a feature of wards with a high concentration of non-manual households, the last six words in Table Seventeen.

This procedure was then repeated in an analysis of the distribution of ill-health in the City and the data which were used for this purpose are presented in Table Eighteen.

There is a slight re-ordering among wards in Table Eighteen, compared to the ordering in Table Seventeen but the two are roughly similar. St. Peters, for instance, is the most deprived ward according to the original operational definition of health status and also has the highest standardised mortality rate for the 1-64 age bracket. The average SMR for this group nationally is, by definition, 100. In St. Peters, therefore, the rate for premature deaths is 57 per cent higher than the rate for the U.K. as a whole. Conversely, Plymstock Dunstone has a rate which is 33 per cent lower than the national average. That the deprivation and health indices are roughly comparable in terms of results provides a positive comment on the validity of the deprivation indicators which have been used in this analysis. More important, however, the data indicated that another aspect for the quality of life, health status, is also related to the distribution of manual and non-manual households in Plymouth. This confirms for the City what has already been demonstrated by empirical sociologists at a national level during the 1980s, namely that health status is significantly related to occupational class defined as a distinction between manual and non-manual labour (Townsend, 1981, Whitehead, 1987).

It seemed fairly clear, at this stage of the analyses, that the distributions of privatised and collective consumption, social deprivation and ill health were related to the occupational class structure of Plymouth. This observation was confirmed by correlating some of the variables in Table Seven with occupational class. One of

the dangers involved in this kind of exercise is that it can result in an 'ecological fallacy', where the characteristic of the largest group in the population are ascribed to the population as a whole. Not withstanding, it was felt that the distribution of these variables in Plymouth provided a rough but fairly useful guide to the geographical structure of the City's population. The results of the correlations are contained in Table Nineteen and a number of points emerge from a consideration of the Pearson's product moment co-efficients. First, occupational class is significantly related to housing tenure, car ownership and unemployment in Plymouth. Furthermore, the distribution of these variables according to occupational class involves a qualitative division between manual and non-manual households. This is indicated by the strong negative and positive co-efficients for non-manual and manual households respectively. Second, intra-class differences in the co-efficients are apparent. For manual households, this was indicated by the co-efficients which were obtained for occupational class IIIm; they were consistently smaller than those which were obtained for occupational classes IV and V. The same was true for non-manual households. Thus it can be argued that the distribution of affluence/deprivation varies across the class structure according to the level of occupational grading within the manual and non-manaul categories. Notwithstanding, the distinction between manual and non-manual labour is the most outstanding feature of the distribution of particular consumption items, unemployment and deprivation in Plymouth.

Consumption is clearly an important element of stratification in Plymouth. However, it does not appear to involve a division between a very small minority and an affluent 'middle mass', to use Pahls term of description. Furthermore, the nature of consumption in Plymouth is clearly related to the occupational class structure. It does not, therefore, appear to constitute an independent axis of social stratification.

iv) Summary

This examination of the frequency of distribution of specific variables in Plymouth enables the local social structure to be summarised in the following way. First, in terms of class and ethnicity the picture for Plymouth is broadly similar to the picture for the U.K. as a whole. There are differences, however. First, Plymouth is unlike many British cities in that its population is white. In ethnic terms, it is not a cosmopolitan city. Second, it has a larger proportion of manual workers than the national average, and fewer non-manual workers. In social structural terms, Plymouth is largely a white working class city.

Second, the extent of collective consumption and social deprivation is greater in Plymouth. This may result from its higher than average rate of unemployment and its larger manual working class population. In fact, Plymouth has some of the worst deprivation in the U.K. It is, however, more evenly spread through the population so that polarisation is not as sharp as it may be in other parts of Britain.

Third, consumption and deprivation in Plymouth are distributed along occupational class lines. Consumption does not constitute an independent axis of stratification, as argued by Dunleavy (1979) and demonstrated in Plymouth.

Section Three: Class, consumption and voting in Plymouth

This section is concerned primarily with the relationship between occupational class and voting at elections in Plymouth. This concern was generated by the arguments of sociologists (Saunders, 1984) and political scientists (Franklin, 1985) which involved the assertion that class based voting in the U.K. has declined to the significant detriment of the Labour Party. To what extent is the 'class de-alignment' thesis applicable to Plymouth? This question was addressed through an examination of the occupational class distribution of votes at three local elections which were held during

the 1980s. The results of this analysis did not indicate that the relationship between class and voting in Plymouth has significantly declined.

i) Voting in Plymouth.

It has been noted that Plymouth is predominantly a working class city, but this has not been reflected in the results of general elections which have been held since the last war. Plymouth is and has been a largely Conservative area although it has returned the occasional Labour and Alliance candidate to Parliament (Craig, 1983). This may be related to the fact that H.M. Armed Forces are the major local employer. Indeed, the conservative influence of this is a well worn theme among commentators on the local political scene (Maguire et al, 1987). In any event, the national election results for Plymouth enable little to be said about trends in the relationship between class and voting, other than that it isn't significant.

However, voting behaviour at recent local elections suggests that class does influence voting in the City, and in a way which would be expected. Table Twenty lists the political parties which received the largest vote in each ward in Plymouth, together with the deprivation score and the proportion of households in occupational classes four and five in each ward. The actual percentages obtained by the three major parties in each ward are presented in Table Twenty-one. In the 1983 City Council elections, Labour won in eight wards covering virtually the same geographical area as the Devonport constituency which David Owen won for the S.D.P. in the National election of the same year. Table Twenty indicates that this constituency, which includes St. Peters and Keyham, is an area with a high proportion of manual households and a high incidence of deprivation. This suggests that Owen won the Devonport seat in 1983 on the basis of the personal loyalty he had previously built up as a Labour M.P. representing the constituency. In all essentials, Devonport is a natural Labour constituency. This was confirmed by the results of the 1985 and 1989 County

Council elections where the Labour vote increased, as indicated by the percentages in Table Twenty-One. Devonport is therefore in the rather odd situation of being represented politically in the City Council and in Exeter by the Labour Party and nationally by a near defunct centre Party.

Voting in Plymouth moved toward the centre at the 1985 County elections, largely at the expense of the Conservatives who lost ten seats to the Alliance. However, the results of the 1989 County Council elections indicated a return to two party politics, and even an extension of Labour Control to Efford, which traditionally elects Conservative candidates. If 'class de-alignment' was apparent during the 1980s, it's symptom was non-manual household's drifting towards the centre rather than manual workers moving away from Labour. In any event after a decade of Thatcherism, it seems that class has emerged as a factor which is significantly associated with voting.

ii) Class and Voting

Table Twenty-Two contains Pearsons' product moment co-efficients which were generated by correlating the percentages of persons in the various occupational class categories by the percentage size of the vote for the three main political parties, in the wards for the local elections. These co-efficients did not indicate that class based voting in general has declined, although they pointed to some interesting variations on the nature of class voting in the City. More specifically, they suggested that the trends in voting have been different for non-manual and manual areas.

As expected, electoral support for the Conservative Party is most significantly associated with the distribution of households in occupational classes one and two. Furthermore, the strength of this association increased significantly during the course of the six year period. Compare, for instance, the co-efficient of 0.719, which was generated from the 1983 election data, with the corresponding co-efficient for 1989 of 0.925. The

analysis confirmed a similar trend among unskilled non-manual workers. Thus, the co-efficient of 0.474 for this group which was generated from the 1983 election data, increased to 0.629 in 1989. It is possible to argue, on the basis of this analysis, that the Conservative Party has consolidated its electoral support among non-manual workers in Plymouth.

They did not do so well among manual workers. In fact, there was a reverse relationship here in that manual households, in both skilled and unskilled categories, were significantly less likely to vote for the Conservatives at the end of the six year period. Unskilled manual households were least likely to vote for the Conservatives at all three elections, and the negative co-efficient of -0.750 which was generated for this group from the 1983 election data increased to -0.893 in 1989. This trend is evident but even more pronounced among skilled manual workers, as indicated by the negative co-efficients for 1983 (-0.509) and 1989 (-0.814).

However, this has not been complemented by a trend involving growing support for the Labour Party among manual households. In fact, the co-efficients in column two suggest that the Labour vote may have declined among manual households, albeit marginally. It seems evident that the pattern expressed in the co-efficients in Table Twenty-Two is similar to the pattern in the relationship between class and consumption which was examined in the previous section in that there was a qualitative division between manual and non-manual households in terms of their voting behaviour, although similar intra-class divisions were apparent in the two occupational classes. For instance, the co-efficients for skilled manual households, although significant, were not as strong as the co-efficients which were obtained for those areas with a high proportion of households in occupational classes four and five. In other words, unskilled manual households were more likely to vote Labour than skilled manual households, although households in both categories were much more likely to vote Labour than any other party.

iii) Consumption and voting

A similar procedure was used to assess the relationship between consumption related factors and voting at the three local elections and the co-efficients that were generated by this exercise are contained in Table Twenty-Three. They indicate that 'collective consumption' and social deprivation are also significantly related to voting behaviour in the City, and in a way which would be expected.

Of the five independent variables in Table Twenty-Three, collective consumption in housing appears to be most significantly associated with the propensity to vote Labour at local elections. Thus a co-efficient of 0.922 was generated for this category from the 1983 election results. In other words, there is a very strong tendency among council tenants in Plymouth to vote for the Labour Party at City and County Council elections. However, it is a misinterpretation of the data in Table Twenty-Three to suggest that housing tenure determines voting behaviour in the City because the distribution of housing in Plymouth is related to the distribution of households in the various occupational class categories. This is reflected in the size of the co-efficient which was generated by correlating the distribution of households in occupational classes four and five with the Labour vote at the three local elections. These co-efficients were almost identical in size to the housing co-efficients. Compare, for instance, the class (4 & 5) co-efficient of 0.838 for 1989 with the housing co-efficient of 0.848 for the same year.

In terms of the size of the co-efficients the third most important variable in terms of its relationship to voting at local elections is the distribution of households in occupational class IIIm. In fact, the co-efficients which were generated for this category from the 1983 and 1985 election results are larger than the co-efficients for two other deprivation indicators, car-ownership and the deprivation index, although the latter do indicate significant association.

It has already been noted that the relationship between the distribution of manual households in Plymouth and the Labour vote has declined marginally between 1983 and 1989. The same is true for the relationship between the deprivation and consumption indicators and the Labour vote; this has also declined in a similar way with the exception of the car-ownership co-efficient which has increased slightly. So for instance, the co-efficient for the deprivation index which was generated from the 1983 election data decreased in size from 0.719 to 0.648 in 1989. Consumption and deprivation have not, therefore, increased in importance as factors which are associated with the Labour vote at local elections in the City.

iv) Summary

In spite of its large manual working class population, Plymouth has consistently returned more Conservative candidates to Parliament than Labour over the course of the post-war period. At this level, he observer gets the impression that there is a mis-match between the class content of Plymouth's social structure and the voting propensities of the population. However, at the level of local elections, there is a significant relationship between occupational class and political behaviour.

One of the most striking features of the local election voting data was the pattern of class support for the two main parties, Labour and the Conservatives, over the course of the 1980s. After a decade of Thatcherism, non-manual workers were more likely to vote for the Conservatives while manual workers were less likely to vote for Labour, but only marginally so. This indicates that 'positional awareness' may be greater among non-manual rather than manual households in the City. However, the likelihood of manual households in the City voting Conservative decreased substantially during the 1980s. This was true for both skilled and unskilled manual households. The analyses did not, therefore, confirm the argument of Hall and others (Hall, 1982, Hobsbawm, 1982) that affluent manual workers have increasingly shifted their political affiliations from

Labour to the Conservatives. If anything the analyses suggested that manual workers who may have been dissatisfied with Labour Party policy are likely to abstain from voting. What Hall (1979) has referred to as Thatcher's hegemonic project has not made much of an impact on the manual working class of Plymouth at least, not at the level of local elections.

Finally, consumption and deprivation are significantly associated with voting at local elections in Plymouth. However, consumption and deprivation in Plymouth are also distributed along occupational class lines. There are no grounds on the basis of the analyses which have been reported in this chapter for believing that a cleavage based on consumption and deprivation constitutes an independent axis of stratification in terms of its influence on political behaviour. Similarly, these are no grounds for arguing that consumption is more important than occupational class, although the effects of the different variables are difficult to disentangle and assess solely on the basis the data which have been reported in this chapter.

Conclusion

These data and the analyses enable a number of points to be made about the nature of social structure and politics in Plymouth, when considered in the light of recent sociological debates about the impact of economic and social restructuring in the U.K. and when compared to the nature of social structure and politics in the U.K. as a whole. First, the trends in the local economy have followed those which developed at the level of the national economy over the course of the post-war period. For instance, industry which generated manual employment has declined whilst industry which generated non-manual employment has concomitantly expanded, although not to the same extent as for the national economy. Unemployment in the City is higher than the national average although Plymouth is not an industrial wasteland, as are some parts of the U.K..

Second, the social structure of Plymouth is broadly similar to that of the U.K., although the two are not identical. The most important difference centres on ethnicity and in particular, the issue of coloured immigration. In contrast to many cities and towns in the U.K., Plymouth has a small black population which is perhaps surprising given the status of the City as a port. Ethnicity does not, therefore, feature as a dimension of social inequality and social deprivation in the City.

However, occupational class and consumption do feature as central characteristics of the distribution of social inequality in Plymouth. Plymouth's manual working class population is slightly larger than the national average whilst the proportion of non-manual households in the City is smaller. This probably results from the slower rate of growth in the service sector.

Collective consumption in housing and social deprivation defined for the purposes of this chapter as involving a lack of access to a limited range of resources are both more extensive in Plymouth. In fact, it has been demonstrated that the distribution of certain aspects of consumption and deprivation is closely related to the distribution of households among the various occupational classes.

Third, although the proportions of manual and socially deprived households in the City are larger than the national averages, Plymouth has been routinely Conservative at the level of national elections; a by product, perhaps, of significance of H.M. armed forces in the local elections which were conducted over the course of the 1980s in the City. Occupational class is significantly associated with voting patterns. If 'class de-alignment' was ever a feature of political behaviour in the City, it was manifest in 1985 when areas with a high proportion of non-manual households returned a large number of Alliance candidates to Devon County Council

Notwithstanding the dramatic language of Hall and his 'New Times' co-thinkers, Thatcherism has had little positive impact on the manual working class in Plymouth. The analyses which were reported in this chapter indicated that manual workers in the City are singularly unlikely to express support for the Conservative Party at local elections. Furthermore, this pattern became increasingly accentuated during the course of the 1980s, particularly in areas with a high proportion of skilled manual households. However, this has not translated into increased support for the Labour Party. Labour has increased the number of seats it controls in the County Council, but the propensity of manual households to vote Labour appeared to decline in a modest way over the course of the 1980's.

In sum, Plymouth appears to be in a rather odd situation. It has experienced the de-industrialisation which has characterised the national economy but the service sector has not developed to the same extent. The city therefore has a larger than average manual working class population and a greater incidence of collective consumption and social deprivation. In spite of this, it doesn't routinely return Labour candidates to Parliament, although the performance of the Labour Party has improved in recent local elections. This may be a portent of developments to emerge, although this will, of course, depend on the public profile of the Labour Party in Plymouth in the near future.

Table Eleven. Employment in the Plymouth Travel to Work Area, 1981

Order (sic 1968)		Employment 1981 (N)	Location Quotient
I,II	Total primary industries	2,272	.66
III	Food, drink and tobacco	2,744	.83
IV	Coal and petroleum products		
V	Chemicals and allied instries	475	.20
VI	Metal manufacturing		
VII	Mechanical engineering	4,142	.60
XIX	Other manufacturing		
VIII	Instrument engineering	1,076	1.67
IX	Electrical engineering	2,480	.72
X	Shipbuilding/marine engineering	15,335	20.14
XI	Vehicles	140	.03
XII	Metal Goods (other)	686	.29
XIII	Textiles		
XIV	Leather & fur goods	70	.06
XV	Clothing & footwear	1,595	1.15
XVI	Bricks, pottery & glass	595	0.50
XVII	Timber, furniture, etc	702	0.60
XVIII	Paper, printing & publishing	1,554	0.58
Total manufacturing industries		31,594	1.03
XX	Construction	6,193	1.08
XXI	Gas, electricity and water	1,981	1.13
XXII	Transport and communication	6,128	0.84
XXIII	Distributive trades	15,267	1.09
XXIV	Insurance, banking, finance and business services	4,881	0.74
XXV	Professional and scientific Services	18,825	1.01
XXVI	Miscellaneous services	13,169	1.02
XXVII	Public admin and defence	8,608	1.11
Total service industries		68,859	1.00
Unclassified by industry		81	-
Total all industries		109,000	-

Table Twelve. Services and Banking as a percentage of employment

	Rate of Unemployment (Oct/Nov 1988)	Services as a % of employment (1984)	Banking, Finance Insurance & Leasing etc as a % of total employment (1984)
Bath	5.4	72	7.75
Bournemouth/Poole	5.0	70	12.10
Bristol	6.6	67	12.47
Cheltenham	4.3	60	10.97
Exeter	5.5	80	10.26
Gloucester	5.0	67	9.79
Plymouth	10.3	65	7.43
Swindon	4.8	65	10.79
U.K.	8.4	65	9.50

Source: Plymouth Business School, 1989

Table Thirteen: Unemployment in the UK and Plymouth

	National (UK) % of workforce	Plymouth (TTWA) % of workforce
1984 +	11.7 (Annual)	14.5 (Oct 11)
1988 *	7.3	10.5
Difference	4.4	4.0

Source: + Department of Employment
* Department of Employment

Table Fourteen. Persons in social class categories as a percentage of the population (10% sample) %.

	England/Wales *	Plymouth +
I	5.7	4.5
II	22.7	19.2
IIIN	11.9	13.7
IIIM	36.8	37.8
IV	16.8	17.6
V	6.1	6.2

* 1981 Census National report for Great Britain Pt. 2.
\+ 1981 Small Area Statistics

Table Fifteen. Housing amenities and car ownership in the UK and Plymouth (%).

	Lack inside bath or w/c	Households with more than 1 person per room	Households with no car
Plymouth +	2.0	0.6	41.3
National *	1.0	2.0	37.0

* 1981 Census National report for Great Britain Pt.2
\+ 1981 Census small area statistics

Table Sixteen. Housing tenure in the UK and Plymouth (%).

	UK*	Plymouth +
Owner occupation	74	66.8
Council/HA	23.5	25.2
Other	3.2	8.0

* Social Trends 1989
\+ Plymouth City Council Report 1988

Table Seventeen. The distribution of collective consumption and social deprivation in Plymouth, 1981.

	% lone pensioners	% lone parents	% without w/c bath	% over-crowded	% not owner occupied	% without car	% unemployed	Deprivation score
. Peters	19	8.21	4.02	6	84	68	18.97	4.16
n	13	8.69	0.91	8	55	52	16.75	3.32
yham	14	7.34	3.91	5	52	56	13.61	2.30
dshead	13	8.30	0.07	3	76	51	14.04	2.25
tton	21	4.54	5.80	3	60	59	13.45	2.09
uthway	6	7.11	0.05	7	62	31	9.41	1.79
. Budeaux	12	4.54	0.78	3	59	51	13.35	1.75
nicknowle	14	7.22	0.53	3	64	47	11.81	1.65
ford	12	7.21	1.92	4	52	44	11.68	1.53
ake	18	3.64	4.50	2	37	49	12.41	0.96
. Could	17	5.01	4.41	3	5	49	10.94	0.96
oke	18	3.9	4.44	2	35	47	10.98	0.63
elawney	16	4.47	1.06	1	35	21	8.77	0.01
gbuckland	9	5.15	0.16	3	38	28	6.83	-0.01
tover	6	4.85	1.37	1	49	26	6.69	-0.28
pton	15	4.28	1.27	1	27	32	8.49	-0.40
ymstock R	14	3.85	0.89	2	22	29	6.92	-0.95
mpton E	7	4.04	0.71	1	22	20	5.6	-1017
ymstock D	10	3.89	0.30	1	22	21	5.83	-1.19
mpton S M	9	3.68	1.00	1	10	18	4.46	-1.61

urce: 1981 Census small area statistics.

Table Eighteen. Variations in health status among Plymouths population 1981.

	S.M.R. 1 - 64	Infant Mortality Rate	I.M.R. and still birth	% Sick or disabled	Rank health index 2	Rank health index 1
St. Peters	157	13.1	21.9	3	3.32	1.79
Keyham	122	9.7	15.2	3	2.43	1.23
Budshead	123	14.0	18.6	3	2.21	0.99
Tam	106	12.4	22.1	3	2.03	0.88
Honicknowle	113	6.8	8.6	4	1.85	1.79
Sutton	119	7.8	14.3	3	1.74	0.51
Efford	114	6.1	19.3	2	1.35	0.70
St. Budeaux	111	7.1	11.3	2	1.30	0.08
Stoke	134	4.8	11.9	2	1.27	0.35
Plympton E	94	9.8	23.8	1	1.18	-1.17
Prelawney	92	8.5	16.8	3	0.99	-0.06
Eggbuckland	103	6.8	12.9	2	0.98	-0.42
Southway	115	8.7	14.7	1	0.77	-0.27
Drake	91	12.5	14.7	2	0.68	-0.48

(continued .....)

(continued .....)

Estover	92	10.0	17.1	1	0.47	-1.18
Mt Gould	96	6.8	12.3	2	0.45	-0.41
Plymstock R	93	10.5	13.5	2	0.40	-0.59
Plympton S M	69	10.4	19.0	2	0.09	-1.01
Plymstock D	77	14.9	14.9	1	-0.67	-1.53

Source: Abbot, 1988.

Table Nineteen. Occupational class, consumption and deprivation in Plymouth, 1981.

	% not in Owner Occupation	% with no car	Unemployment	Deprivation index
I/II	-0.835	-0.683	-0.613	-0.582
IIIN	-0.522	-1.194	-0.474	-0.268
IIIM	0.600	0.422	0.530	0.463
IV/V	0.839	0.726	0.722	0.648

* All co-efficients are significant at the 0.000 level

Table Twenty. Occupational class, deprivation and voting in Plymouth

	Deprivation Score +	1983 City Election results *	1985 County Election results *	1989 County Election results *	% in Social class 4/5 +
St. Peters	4.16	Labour	Labour	Labour	33
Ham	3.32	Labour	Labour	Labour	25
Keyham	2.30	Conservative	Alliance	Alliance	31
Budshead	2.25	Labour	Labour	Labour	37
Sutton	2.09	Labour	Labour	Labour	28
Southway	1.79	Labour	Labour	Labour	22
St. Budeaux	1.75	Labour	Alliance	Alliance	27
Honicknowle	1.63	Labour	Labour	Labour	33
Efford	1.53	Labour	Labour	Labour	26
Drake	0.96	Conservative	Alliance	Conservative	15
Mt Gould	0.96	Conservative	Alliance	Labour	19
Stoke	0.63	Conservative	Alliance	Conservative	18
Trelawney	0.01	Conservative	Alliance	Labour	20
Eggbuckland	-0.01	Conservative	Alliance	Labour	9
Estover	-0.28	Conservative	Alliance	Conservative	16
Compton	-0.40	Conservative	Alliance	Conservative	15
Plympton R	-0.95	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative	14
Plympton E	-1.17	Conservative	Alliance	Conservative	7
Plymstock D	-1.19	Conservative	Alliance	Conservative	10
Plympton S M	-1.61	Conservative	Alliance	Conservative	9

Source: + 1981 Census small area statistics
* Rallings and Thrasher, Polytechnic South West, Unpublished collation of local election results.

Table Twenty-One. Voting Behaviour in Plymouth, 1983 to 1989 (%).

	Labour			Conservative			Alliance		
WARD	1983	1985	1989	1983	1985	1989	1983	1985	1989
Budshead	51	47	56	25	10	14	24	43	30
Compton	12	-	16	69	46	56	19	47	17
Drake	18	27	31	62	32	39	20	38	20
Efford	45	50	55	37	21	31	18	28	14
Eggbuckland	23	31	37	51	23	33	25	46	17
Estover	25	23	23	53	33	41	22	45	30
Ham	52	49	61	27	13	14	21	38	5
Honicknowle	53	55	61	30	15	18	17	30	21
Keyham	34	40	35	35	16	15	31	44	44
Mount Gould	28	28	40	48	25	35	23	46	24
Plympton Erle	15	15	14	61	40	40	24	44	46
Plympton St. Mary	11	13	14	46	41	50	20	46	23
Plymstock Dunstone	13	17	16	68	41	62	19	42	21
Plymstock Radford	15	18	18	61	46	54	24	35	28
St. Budeaux	43	37	37	27	17	21	30	46	43
St. Peter	51	54	67	27	17	19	21	27	14
Southway	46	47	58	34	19	23	21	34	20
Stoke	21	33	28	56	34	34	23	34	32
Sutton	40	47	57	37	25	26	22	26	17
Trelawney	28	29	39	51	32	37	21	39	24

Source: Thrasher and Rallings, Polytechnic South West, Unpublished collation of local election results.

Table Twenty-Two. Occupational class and voting in Plymouth.

		Conservative	Labour	Alliance
I/II	1983	0.719	-0.905	-0.285
	1985	0.914	-0.902	0.413
	1989	0.925	-0.840	0.036
IIIN	1983	0.474	-0.567	-0.143
	1985	0.643	-0.481	-0.056
	1989	0.619	-0.486	0.001
IIIM	1983	-0.509	0.730	0.312
	1985	-0.800	0.693	-0.110
	1989	-0.814	0.649	0.213
IV/V	1983	-0.750	0.908	0.213
	1985	-0.904	0.891	-0.432
	1989	-0.893	0.838	-0.031

* All co-efficients are significant at the 0.000 level.

Table Twenty-Three. Class, collective consumption, social deprivation and voting in Plymouth.

	Percentage Voting Labour		
	1983	1985	1989
Percentage in social class 3M	0.730	0.693	0.649
Percentage in social classes 4/5	0.908	0.891	0.838
% Not in owner occupation	0.922	0.826	0.848
% without cars	0.643	0.685	0.668
Deprivation Index	0.719	0.646	0.648

* all co-efficients are significant at 0.000 level.

CHAPTER FIVE

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

As stated and elaborated on in Chapter Three, it was originally intended to sample 150 respondents with specific characteristics which suited the aims of the survey although in fact, only 143 successful interviews were completed. The classification characteristics of this sample are considered in this chapter and for three reasons.

First, it is necessary to provide an assessment of the extent to which the aims of the sampling method were met. It will be recalled that the principal aim was to sample social collectivities in Plymouth. the immediate practical task involved in sampling such collectivities therefore involved filling quotas which were based on the intended analysis variables. The extent to which this was achieved is assessed in Section One.

Second, although the sample was not intended to be representative of Plymouth's population, it is still useful to assess the extent to which it is as such an exercise will make it possible to provide a comment on the possibility of generalizing about social and political attitudes in Plymouth from the sample based results. This can be assessed by comparing the values of certain sample characteristics with the values of the same characteristics for the population as a whole. If the two sets of values correspond, then it is possible to say that the observer can be reasonably confident in the generalisations s/he is making about unknown population parameters. The two sets of values were compared on a range of characteristics and the results are discussed in Section Two.

Third, the survey data were generated in order to explore the relationship between occupational class, social class, independent axes of stratification and dependent attitudinal variables. It is useful, therefore, to know the extent to which occupational class is related to the remaining non-attitudinal variables, some of which are the alternative independent variables. This was explored through a

series of contingency tables and the results of this exercise are discussed in Section Three.

Section One. Sampling Social Collectivities

The numbers of respondents that were, in fact, sampled from the social categories which defined the quota controls are presented in Table Twenty Four.

These figures can be related back to the figures which are contained in Figure Nine in Chapter Three. It will be noted that the aims of the sampling method have, in broad terms, been achieved. The column totals in Table Twenty Four are not that different from the column totals in Figure Nine, although pensioners and the unemployed are over-represented in terms of the required numbers for each category. There is an adequate representation of pensioners and respondents of both sexes among the manual and non-manual occupational class groups, as specified by the controls. Not surprisingly, the majority of unemployed respondents were sampled from the manual working class. The major problem with the distribution of respondents among the various quota categories results from the small number of manual owner occupiers who were interviewed. It isn't possible at this stage to assess the extent to which this may have adversely affected the overall quality of the data, although the analyses which are presented in Chapter Eight indicate that there are sufficient numbers of manual owner occupiers in the sample to generate meaningful results.

Furthermore, the aim of sampling twenty five respondents in occupational class 3N was not met. In fact, only fourteen of the total sample of 143 belonged to this group. This may have presented problems in interpreting patterns in the data, particularly in view of the criticism that the Registrar General's scheme is not sensitive to economic and social variation within non-manual occupational categories.

Section Two. Generalisations About Plymouth's Population

Tables Twenty Five to Twenty Eight contain figures which represent the distribution of specific independent variables in both Plymouth and the Sample. If the two distributions for each variable are close, then, it would be fairly safe to assume that the distributions of dependent variables in the sample match the distributions of dependent variables in the survey population.

Table Twenty Five contains figures which represent the age structures in Plymouth and the Sample. Both are broadly similar with the biggest difference being in the 28-37 age group.

Table Twenty Six contains figures which represent the distribution of housing tenure in Plymouth and the Sample. Again, the two are broadly similar although the sample has a slightly higher proportion of council tenants than does Plymouth.

Table Twenty Seven contains figures which represent the distribution of social class in Plymouth and the Sample. The percentages in social class I, II, IIIN and IV do not diverge to any great extent between Plymouth and the sample. For social class 3M, the sample has 15.3 per cent fewer members than does Plymouth as a whole. This might explain why there are very few working class owner occupiers in the sample. In addition, persons in the social class V are over-represented in the sample.

Table Twenty Eight presents the percentage vote for the major parties at local elections in 1981 and 1987, and voting preferences/intentions expressed by respondents. It will be noted that the Alliance and Conservative votes have been combined in column two. The reason for this is that the Labour vote at local elections in Plymouth in the 1980s has been relatively stable whilst the Conservative vote has fluctuated quite rapidly in accordance with the fortunes of the now defunct Alliance. It is, therefore, more convenient to make comparisons in this way. The percentages for Plymouth and the sample are broadly similar.

In sum, the similarities between the sample and Plymouth's population are greater than the differences. It would not be unrealistic to support the view, therefore, that the sample results enable the observer to make valid generalisations about Plymouth's population. There are differences between the sample and the Plymouth's population in terms of population characteristics, however, and it is not possible to say how much these differences affect the quality of the data, if the aim is to infer the characteristics of Plymouth's population.

Section Three. Occupational Class and the Sample Characteristics

The relationship between occupational class and a range of non-attitudinal variables was assessed through an analysis of a series of contingency tables. These are represented by Tables Thirty to Thirty Five.

The purpose of presenting and discussing these tables here is to provide a preliminary assessment of the extent to which occupational class is sociologically significant in terms of the way it patterns the distribution of other variables in the sample. These tables therefore complement the analyses of local economic, social and political trends which were presented in Chapter Four. They also provide useful information as a background to the bivarate and multivariate analyses which are presented in the following chapters.

Table Thirty contains figures for occupational class and housing tenure. The chi-square statistic of 95.41 is very high and indicates a strong relationship between the two variables. The most striking feature of the table is that all non-manual workers are owner occupiers. 19.2 per-cent of manual workers are owner occupiers and most of 'the rest' are in the public sector of housing provision. The strength of this association probably results from the fact that skilled manual workers are under-represented in the collapsed manual category.

Table Three represents a crosstabulation between two class variables each of which has been collapsed in a different way. The Registrar General's occupational class classification is based on the distinction between manual and non manual workers. Wright's classification is based on positions within industrial hierarchies and makes the distinction between proletarians and positions which are non-proletarian. "Manual workers" and "proletarians" are different ways of presenting the working class in sociological terms. As would be expected, there is a certain amount of congruence between the two variables. The Chi-square statistic has a value of 27.05. However, a glance at the table suggests that there is also a certain amount of incongruence. This incongruences centres on the working class.

Wright, it seems, has classified many manual workers as being non-proletarian. The working class is smaller, therefore, in Wright's conception, and in terms of the actual patterns in the data.

Thirty Two is a crosstabulation of occupational class by trade union membership. As the chi-square statistic of 1.2 indicates, there is a weak relationship between the two variables. 34.8 per-cent of non-manual workers are members of trade unions or staff associations compared to 45.2 per-cent for manual workers. This indicates the extent to which white collar unionisation has proceeded in Plymouth's labour force.

Table Thirty Three is a crosstabulation between occupational class and expressed voting intentions. The chi-square statistic of 27.51 indicates a strong relationship. For instance, 54.8 per-cent of manual workers expressed support for the Labour Party compared to 14.5 per-cent of non-manual workers. The majority of non-manual workers (50.7) support the Conservative Party. More non-manual workers support the Alliance than do manual workers. This reinforces the observation which was made in Chapter Four that Alliance voting in Plymouth is largely a middle class phenomenon.

Table Thirty Four is a crosstabulation of occupational class by household income. As could be expected, the level of household incomes varies by household class. The strength of the relationship is indicated by the chi-square statistic of 46.37. 91.8 per-cent of manual workers in the sample are in the two lowest income brackets compared to the 55 per-cent of non-manual workers who are in the two highest income brackets.

Table Thirty Five is a crosstabulation of occupational class by consumption sector. The strength of the relationship between the two variables in the sample is indicated by the chi-square statistic of 45.84. It is interesting to note that the overwhelming majority of non-manual workers in the sample are involved in predominantly private consumption sectoral locations. A large percentage of manual workers are also in this situation (34.2) but members of this class in the sample are, in the main, users of public sector services.

Conclusion

This consideration of the distribution of respondents between the classification categories of a number of non-attitudinal variables enables three points to be made about the characteristics of the Sample.

First, the aims of the non-probability sampling procedure were, in the main, achieved. Pensioners and unemployed respondents were over-represented but the main problem with the sample results from the small number of manual owner occupiers who were interviewed. One possible consequence of this may be that subsequent statistical analyses may fail to correctly estimate the influence of consumption sector on attitudes to welfare.

Second, the sample is similar to Plymouth's population on a range of characteristics, although the two are not identical and diverge in important ways. Although the original intention of the study was not to make generalisations about certain aspects of Plymouth's population, this can in fact be done providing that a certain amount of caution is exercised when interpreting results.

Third, occupational class was significantly associated with a range of non-attitudinal variables. It wasn't surprising to learn, therefore, that it was also significantly associated with attitudes to welfare. This is demonstrated in the next Chapter.

Table Twenty Four: Achieved numbers for the quota controls

Occupational Class	Pensioners	Unemployed	Gender		Owner Occupiers
			Male	Female	
I/II	55	27	2	23	46	69
IIIN	14				
IIIM	25	23	31	39	34	14
IV/V	48				
TOTAL	142	50	33	62	80	83

Table Twenty Five: Age in Plymouth and the Sample %

		18-27	28-37	38-47	48-57	58-67	68+
*Plymouth %	(1981)	27.87	17.82	14.81	14.56	13.28	12.27
Sample %	(1988)	35	8.4	9	13.3	18.9	15.4
Difference		7.13	9.42	5.81	1.26	5.62	3.13

* Source: National Census, 1981

Table Twenty Six: Housing tenure in Plymouth and the Sample

		Own./Occ.	Council & H.A.	Other
*Plymouth	(1988)	66.8	25.2	3.8
Sample	(1988)	58.8	34.3	7.0
Difference		8	9.1	3.2

* Source: Plymouth City Council Report, 1989

Table Twenty Seven: Occupational class in Plymouth and the Sample

		I	II	IIIN	IIIM	IV	V
*Plymouth %	(1981)	14.5	19.2	13.7	32.8	13.6	5.4
Sample %	(1988)	13.3	25.2	9.8	17.5	19.6	14.0
Difference		1.2	6	3.9	15.3	6	8.6

* Source: National Census, 1981 (10% sample)

Table Twenty Eight: Voting behaviour in Plymouth and the Sample

		Lab.	All/Cons
*Plymouth %	(1981)	40	60
*Plymouth %	(1985)	35	65
Sample %	(1988)	43	57

* Source: Thrasher and Rallings, Polytechnic South West, Unpublished voting data

Table Twenty Nine: Characteristics of the Sample (Count)

Housing Tenure	Owner/Occ	Council/HA	Other	Total
	84	49	10	143

Consumption Sector	Public	Private	
	53	81	134

* Nine missing cases.

Party ID	Labour	Cons	Alliance	Other/None	
	50	49	15	29	143

Social Class	I	II	IIIN	IIIM	IV	V	
	19	36	14	25	28	20	142

* One missing case

* Missing cases resulting from coding errors.

Table Thirty: Occupational Class by Housing Tenure (N = 142)

		Owner Occupation	Council	Other	N
Non-Manual	%	100	0.0	0.0	69
Manual	%	19.2	67.1	13.7	73
Chi-square		95.41			
* Kendalls' Tau B		0.782			

Table Thirty One: Occupational Class (Registrar General) by social class (Wright) (N = 142)

		Non-prols	Prols	N
Non-manual	%	87.0	13.0	69
Manual	%	43.8	56.2	73
Chi-Square		27.05		
Kendalls' Tau B		0.451		

Table Thirty Two: Occupational Class by trade union membership (N = 142)

		Yes	No	N
Non-manual	%	34.8	65.2	69
Manual	%	45.2	54.8	73
Chi-square		1.2		
Kendalls' Tau B		-0.106		

Table Thirty Three: Occupational Class by Party I.D. (N = 142)

		Labour	Cons.	All	Other/none	N
Non-manual	%	14.5	50.7	11.6	23.2	69
Manual	%	54.8	19.2	8.2	17.8	73
Chi-square		27.51				
Kendalls' Tau B		-0.282				

Table Thirty Four: Occupational Class by income (N = 142)

		1	2	3	4	N
Non-manual	%	5.8	39.1	24.6	30.4	69
Manual	%	38.4	53.4	8.2		73
Chi-square		46.37				
Kendalls' Tau B		-0.523				

Table Thirty Five: Occupational class by consumption sector (N = 133)

		Public	Private	N
Non-manual	%	6.7	93.3	60
Manual	%	65.8	34.2	73
Chi-square		45.84		
Kendalls' Tau B		-0.603		

CHAPTER SIX

THE STRUCTURE OF WELFARE OPINIONS AND CLASS ATTITUDES TO WELFARE

Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of some of the data which was generated by the main survey and its purpose is twofold; to delineate the structure of public attitudes to welfare on the one hand and to specify the nature of the relationship between occupational class and attitudes on the other. It will be recalled, from Chapter Two, that the overall study is concerned to explore those various aspects of public opinion which together constitute public attitudes to welfare in contemporary Britain. There are two reasons for this. First, it is necessary to establish in the results of this study an element of continuity with previous studies for reasons of external validity and historical interest. Second, the report of the results of the main study is intended to develop what is already known about public attitudes to welfare. The structure of these attitudes is dealt with in Section One.

In Section Two, the relationship between occupational class and attitudes to welfare is examined. The purpose of this exercise is to provide evidence on a number of issues. These can be summarized as follows. First, is occupational class related to attitudes to welfare? Second, in what ways are the two variables related? For instance, does the distinction between manual and non-manual labour remain useful as a basis for explaining attitudes and do alternative lines of cleavage emerge in the data? Is there differentiation within manual and non-manual groups?

Section One. The Structure of Public Attitudes to Welfare.

The evidence is presented in three parts, each one relating to a specific area of social welfare; health care, housing provision and income maintenance. Tables Thirty Six to Forty One present data which deal with both the expenditure and consumer participation aspects of each service.

i) Health care. Table Thirty Six is concerned with issues which relate to general public spending on the NHS. The term 'general' is used here to mean that members of the public could be expected to share similar interests in relation to the issues involved. It would not be unreasonable to assume, for instance, that most members of the public would have a preference for lower prescription charges if questioned on this issue.

On all three statements contained in Table Thirty Six, a clear majority of respondents expressed a position which was favourable to current or increased levels of public spending on the NHS. This fits with the results of earlier studies which have demonstrated the existence of a great deal of public sympathy for increased levels of public spending on state provided health care. Sixty per cent of the respondents were opposed to a policy of cuts in this expenditure. Eighty two per cent did not agree that 'the NHS has enough doctors and nurses'. The implication of this is that higher levels of public expenditure were preferred. A majority of similar proportions were opposed to increases in prescription charges. These results suggested that some aspects of the Thatcher governments health policy diverge from the content of public sympathies.

The percentages contained in Table Thirty Seven which relate to two specific client groups, women and the elderly, display a homogeneity which lends confirmation to the results of earlier studies of attitudes to welfare.

The gender composition of professional staff in the NHS appears to be an important issue with 69 per cent of respondents agreeing that 'there are not enough female doctors and consultants in the

NHS'. Services designed specifically for women were favoured. This was demonstrated by the large majorities who agreed with a policy of more public expenditure for cancer screening and who disagreed with a proposal for the privatization of abortion services. Incidentally, the latter result provides an indication of the moral disposition of respondents toward the whole issue of abortion which is currently quite topical. As is commonly found in studies of attitudes to welfare the elderly 'come up smelling of roses'. Eighty per cent of respondents disagreed with the proposition that 'the NHS takes too much responsibility for the care of elderly people'.

Those statements concerned with the private sector of health care which were presented to respondents were different in emphasis to those which are usually presented in studies of attitudes to welfare. The latter tend to be concerned with public tolerance of the private sector and responses tend unanimously to favour private medical care. The two statements contained in Table Thirty Eight are concerned with the 'social' dimension of private medical care, to wit, the fact that private medical care is available only to those households whose income is sufficient to pay the insurance premiums.

It will be noted that the responses were far from homogeneous! It seems, in fact, that a large proportion of respondents disagreed with the social inequalities which were involved in the consumption of private medical care. The private sector may be popular, as demonstrated by the results of previous studies, but inequalities in its' consumption are not, as indicated by the fifty-four per-cent of respondents who disagreed, with the statement, 'Private Medical care gives people who can pay an unfair advantage'.

Some of the statements in which were reflected different aspects of the process of consumer participation in the National Health Service elicited a fairly homogeneous pattern of responses which signified high levels of consumer dissatisfaction. A majority of respondents disagreed that 'People complain too much about the service they get in the NHS (74%), NHS hospitals have a high standard of service' (42%), 'The NHS has a fair complaints procedure' (53%). Similarly, a large majority of respondents agreed that 'The NHS is something that

people don't feel very involved in' (74%), and 'Doctors are frequently out of touch with the interests of their patients' (72%).

This dissatisfaction was reflected in a preference for more 'choice', more 'voice' but not more 'control', and this is clearly indicated by the figures contained in Table Thirty Nine. Respondents weren't presented with the option of consumer choice being enhanced through an extension of the private sector. However, it is already known that the private sector of health care meets with popular approval. Respondents were asked to evaluate the proposition that 'it is important that people who use the NHS can see the doctor of their choice'. Sixty nine per cent agreed. The principle of enhancing consumer choice by changing the NHS policy process itself therefore appeared to be popular. A preference for more 'voice' in the NHS policy process was reflected in the responses to statements two and three in Table Thirty Nine. This preference for voice did not extend to desire for consumer control over the functioning of the NHS. Fifty four per cent of respondents, for instance, agreed with the proposition that 'it is important that doctors and consultants have the biggest say in the way the NHS is run. This result provides an indication of the 'weight' that members of the public attach to the 'knowledge' and 'expertise' that health service professionals are in possession of. These professionals are the 'best' people to make the operational decisions which keep the service ticking over, in terms of the expectations of N.H.S. consumers.

Twenty eight per cent of respondents agreed that 'families on high incomes get too much out of the NHS'. The results of previous studies indicate that the British public is strongly in favour of a publicly provided health service which is free at the point of use and which provides equal access to all sections of the population. It seems, however, that a large number of respondents were unhappy about the unequal status quo.

These results can be summarized as follows. First, the tables which relate to expenditure issues in the NHS tend to confirm the results of earlier studies which have indicated that public perceptions in this area of welfare provision are often homogeneous. Thus a

majority of respondents expressed a preference for existing or increased levels of spending on the NHS, were opposed to cuts in public expenditure and the introduction of charges and favoured existing or increased levels of spending on services for women and the elderly.

Respondents expressed negative attitudes about the process of consumer participation in the NHS. A clear majority expressed dissatisfaction on a number of points with the status quo. This was reflected in a preference for more consumer choice and voice in the NHS but not control. It seemed that many respondents were quite happy to leave overall control of day to day decision making in the service in the hands of the powerful professionals such as doctors and consultants.

An important development on the results of previous studies is provided by the data which relate to social inequalities in the consumption of private and public health care. These data suggest that health care is not entirely the uncontentious issue which it is frequently made out to be. There is clear evidence of attitudinal polarization on the issue of access to private medical care. Inequalities in the NHS are equally contentious in terms of public perceptions. Attitude studies have not explored these issues and yet they are crucial to a 'full' understanding of the way that health care is perceived by the public. This aspect of health care is discussed more fully in Chapter Seven, in relation to qualitative evidence on positionality and perceptions of distributive justice.

ii) Housing. Public attitudes about housing issues which are specific to women and the elderly appeared to be favourable to these two groups. Sixty per cent of respondents agreed with the proposition that 'the government should put more money into housing single parents'. A large majority of 79 per cent agreed that 'the Government should spend more money on housing for the elderly'. Both of these findings fit with the results of earlier studies. Taylor-Gooby (1985, pp 30, 31, 50), for instance, found a great deal of public sympathy for single parents and the elderly. As far as is known, however, public attitudes to these two groups have not been

explored in the context of housing policy. These data are therefore new.

The items in Table Forty are all concerned with distributional issues. That is, they all involve a conflict of interest between different groups in the housing market. It will be noted that the table is characterised by a heterogeneous pattern of responses to each of the statements.

There is no common agreement on the way in which the housing market operates and the distributional outcomes it generates. Forty three per cent of respondents, disagreed with the proposition that 'people get the sort of housing they deserve'. This is an interesting result when compared to responses to statements about universal state social services. State intervention through universal social service provision generates substantial popular approval. However, a system of housing provision, which is heterogeneous and which more approximates a market system appears to produce discord in terms of popular perceptions. This appears to confirm the argument of Titmuss and others that universal social services have a binding and integrating effect on society. However, it will be demonstrated in Chapter Seven that such a situation is more apparent than real.

Generally and in spite of the heterogeneous nature of responses to the statements contained in Table Forty, sympathy appeared to be with the poor and the disadvantaged in the housing market. Thus fifty five per cent of respondents disagreed with the proposition that 'people complain too much about homelessness and bad housing conditions'.

Responses to one particular statement in the questionnaire throws a great deal of light on the question of the extent to which people feel welfare should be the responsibility of the individual or the state. When responding to the proposition 'the state takes too much responsibility for people's housing', 72% of respondents did so negatively. It seemed that respondents recognized the extent to which their material welfare in terms of their housing careers is dependent on the state's activity in the housing market.

The participation statements were concerned mainly with the public sector of housing provision. The reason for this was that the experiences of council tenants as consumers tends to be more under the control of external agencies than is the case with owner occupiers. The process of consumer participation is probably more of an issue in the public sector than it is in owner occupation.

In terms of perceptions of the consumption experience in public housing, this sector gets a thumbs down. Seventy per cent of those questioned disagreed 'that council estates are pleasant places to live in', seventy four per cent agreed that 'councils generally give a poor standard of maintenance and repairs' and seventy per cent disagreed that 'landlords provide a high standard of service for their tenants'. It is easy to understand, in the light of these results, why previous studies have shown that owner occupation is a preferred tenure in terms of popular perceptions. In addition, it is clear why the government's 'right to buy' policy has been so popular among a large number of council tenants.

The extension of choice, voice and control in public sector housing were favoured by respondents. The data which represent this are contained in Table Forty One. Sixty seven per cent of respondents agreed with the extension of choice in the public sector (statement one), seventy seven per cent with the extension of voice for elderly people living in residential homes (statement two), sixty seven per cent with more voice for users of building societies (statement three), and fifty one per cent with more control for council tenants (statement four). As was the case with health, choice and voice were more popular than control.

The tables in this section have demonstrated that public perceptions of housing provision are both homogeneous and hetergenous depending on the issues involved. A majority of respondents were in favour of existing or increased levels of public spending aimed specifically at the housing needs of women and the elderly. This finding reinforces the results of earlier studies.

Similarly, many respondents evaluated the process of consumer participation in the public sector of housing provision in an unfavourable way. People were tolerant of policies aimed at extending 'choice' and 'voice' in the public sector but not control. However, it will be demonstrated through subsequent qualitative analyses which are presented in Chapter Seven that these results are not as straightforward as they seem.

As with health care, a polarized pattern of responses emerged in relation to distributional issues. Inequalities, access to owner occupation and government subsidies for the public and private sectors were contentious. It is odd that previous studies have not addressed these issues, especially since housing can be regarded as the most important item on the average household's social welfare shopping list. To the extent that these issues have not been addressed, important areas of conflict in the processes whereby housing is distributed have remained untapped. This data represents new and important evidence about the nature of conflict and antagonisms in the housing market.

iii) Income maintenance. As with health and housing, women and the elderly appear to be favoured groups in terms of perceptions of respondents. Seventy two per cent of respondents agreed with the proposition 'it is very important that child benefits are paid to mothers as this gives them financial independence'. It seems that the concept of an independent source of income of modest proportions is surprisingly not anathema to a large number of men. Similarly, eighty one per cent of respondents agreed with the proposition that 'the government should take more responsibilities for the financial well-being of elderly people'. Again this fits with the findings of this study in the context of health and housing and with the results of previous studies.

An important issue in social security provision is the extent to which it should serve to re-distribute income or merely act as a safety net providing a basic subsistence for people during periods of economic inactivity. Table Forty two contains responses to statements

which are concerned with three aspects of the notion of re-distribution.

A small majority of respondents responded in a way which indicated sympathy for a government policy of financial assistance for households on low incomes who want private pension schemes. However, a large minority were unsympathetic. This reinforces a finding which was reported earlier in this chapter which indicated that although the private sector of welfare provision is looked on in a favourable way by the public, the same unanimity is not seen in public attitudes to policies which would make private welfare financially accessible to all sections of the population. Clearly, private welfare is seen by a section of the population as an aspect of privilege in an unequal society. In other words, private welfare is seen by some as a positional good.

The polarization in responses to statements concerned more directly with inequality and redistribution was even more pronounced. Fifty per cent of respondents agreed with the proposition that people complain too much about poverty and forty six per cent agreed that 'income and welfare should be redistributed in favour of the poor'. The way in which income is distributed was an important and contentious issue, with some respondents believing that it is unfair and others believing that the status quo is just. The possibility that this division is based on occupational class is explored later on in this chapter. It may, of course, be based on other forms of social cleavage such as consumption sector, housing tenure or access to work opportunities.

An important and topical issue in debates about social security provision is the nature of the link between social benefits and work. Table Forty Three contains responses to statements which relate to three aspects of this issue. The first statement concerns the relationship between benefit levels and work incentives, summarized in the proposition 'benefits for the unemployed are too high and discourage people from finding jobs'. Forty five per cent of respondents agreed, contradicting the results of Mack and Lansley's 1986 study which indicated the existence of a high level of popular

support for more spending on benefits for the unemployed, but confirming the findings of Golding and Middleton's 1982 study which revealed a high level of public disapproval of unemployment benefits. This was reinforced by the responses of a large minority of respondents, forty per cent, who agreed with the proposition that 'people who leave work of their own accord should not be entitled to benefits'.

The debate about the disincentive effects of social benefits has led some politicians to advance a policy of workfare as a solution to perceived problems and indeed, such a policy has been in operation in some parts of the United States for a while. Would members of the British public find such a policy acceptable? The results contained in Table Forty Three indicate that a large number of them would. Sixty three per cent of respondents agreed with the proposition that people who receive social security benefits should be encouraged to work for them'.

In general, the process of consumer participation in the social security system is not something that people are satisfied with. For instance, seventy four per cent of respondents agreed with the proposition that the 'social security system is something that people don't feel very involved in'. Similarly, sixty one per cent of respondents disagreed that 'the social security system has a fair complaints procedure'.

This dissatisfaction was reflected in a preference for more 'choice' and 'voice'. Statements representing the 'control' dimension of participation in the social security system were difficult to formulate, and so were not presented. Sixty five per cent of respondents felt that people would prefer private pension schemes on the grounds that they allow greater choice. Sixty two per cent of respondents agreed with the proposition that 'ordinary people need more information about the way the social security system works'.

Attitudinal polarization emerged on most of the remaining social security issues, particularly from the data concerning poverty and anti-poverty policy. This is an extremely contentious issue in terms

of public perceptions. Similarly, attitudes were polarized around the issue of access to private welfare.

Section Two. Occupational class and attitudes to welfare.

This section of the paper presents the results of bivariate analyses which were undertaken in order to test and explore both the nature and the significance of the relationship between occupational class and public attitudes to welfare.

These analyses were both exploratory and confirmatory in that their purpose was to test the significance of the association between class defined as a distinction between manual and non-manual labour and attitudes to welfare and to assess the utility of alternative combinations of groups within the R.G. scheme in terms of their explanatory power.

In the first instance, occupational class was cross-tabulated with all of the sixty attitude statements belonging to the six Likert scales. Of these, thirty five tables displayed noticeable patterns which were worth pursuing in terms of statistical analysis. These tables were collapsed in a way which was appropriate to the patterns in the data so as to produce 2 X 3 tables. The tables were then tested for association using the chi-square test of independence.

A brief explanatory word about chi-square is necessary at this stage in order to facilitate interpretation of the tables.

Chi-square is a statistical technique which is commonly used to test relationships between two categorical variables in contingency tables. Two hypothesis are employed when using this technique. The 'null hypothesis' or HO is a hypothesis of no relationship. Conversely, HI specifies a significant relationship between row and column variables.

The chi-square value, which is a measure of significance, enables the observer to reject either HO or HI. This value is simply the sum of the differences between observed and expected values for each cell in the table. Expected values are those which would be expected if there is no relationship. The greater the difference, therefore, the more likely it is that a significant relationship exists.

If the chi-square value exceeds a 'critical value' for each table, then HO is rejected, and conversely, HI is accepted.

The chi-square test does not provide a meaningful measure of the strength of a relationship between two variables, however. Fortunately, alternative measures which range from 0 to 1 and which are based on the chi-square test are available. For the 2 X 3 tables which are analysed below, Cramer's V is the most appropriate. The data in these tables therefore provides information about both the direction and the strength of the relationship. All of the tables which were presented were significant at the 0.001 level. The results contained in these tables are considered below in terms of issues which relate to health care, housing and social security.

i) Health care. In terms of health care, the highest co-efficients which were produced as a result of crosstabulating class with attitudes to this service were those which relate to the private sector. On the face of it, there is no reason why this should be so. After all, the results of previous studies of attitudes to welfare have indicated that public perceptions of the private sector tend to be homogenous in their nature. However, as was indicated in the first section of this chapter, the questions which these studies have presented to respondents have been concerned with the desirability of the private sector. Not surprisingly, these studies have indicated that most people would like to be consumers of private health-care.

Where the unequal distribution of access to the private sector is the object of evaluation by members of the public, attitudes appear to be polarized and along class lines as indicated by the figures contained in Table Forty Five. Seventy six per cent of respondents who were manual workers agreed with the proposition that, 'private medical care gives people who can pay an unfair advantage', in contrast to sixteen per cent of non-manual workers. The size of the Cramers V statistic indicates that a very strong relationship exists between occupational class defined in terms of a division between manual and non-manual labour and public attitudes to inequalities in the consumption of private medical care. It can be suggested that the principal reason for this division is that many manual workers do

not have access to private health insurance. Access is not merely a question of household income, however. As Whitehead's (1987) recent and timely study has made clear, manual workers continue to be more unhealthy than non-manual workers. Insurance premiums for the former are, therefore, much higher. In fact, the only way that the average working class family could get access to the private sector would be if the government initiated a policy of subsidies to households falling below a certain income threshold. Middle class households will find such a policy unacceptable, however. This is indicated by responses to the proposition 'The government should do more to help low income families to get private medical treatment'. Only fourteen per cent of non-manual workers responded in a positive way. Non-manual workers obviously feel that private health care is an aspect of social privilege and should remain as such. In other words, the distribution of positional goods should reflect the market distribution of household incomes and not purposive state action aimed at effecting a change in the course of distribution which would benefit lower income households.

This ideological division between manual and non-manual workers was reflected in public attitudes to distributional issues in health care. By distributional issues I am referring to situations involving a conflict over resources between different groups of welfare consumers and resulting inequalities. Inequalities in the consumption of private health care is a distributional issue but has been treated separately.

Table Forty Six tells the same kind of story as Table Forty Five. Seventy-five percent of manual respondents agreed with the proposition 'families on high incomes get too much out of the NHS', compared to thirty seven per cent of non-manual workers. Again, ideological divisions reflected the nature of the underlying social inequalities. It was pointed out in Chapter Two that social inequalities in the consumption of publicly provided health care are structured around the distinction between manual and non-manual occupational classes. The consumption differences between the two are not merely a question of degree, however. The evidence indicates that the consumption experiences of non-manual workers are qualitatively different to those of manual workers. It is not

surprising, therefore, why the latter should object when this matter is drawn to their attention.

The findings in Table Forty Six have important implications in that they indicate that a substantial volume of people have a vested interest in maintaining the unequal status quo in the NHS. As the manual working class continues to decline as a proportion of the electorate and the Labour Party continues to flirt with non-manual workers with a view to broadening its electoral base, the prospects of achieving equality between occupational classes in the NHS at some point in the future may also decline. This assertion rests on the assumption that policy outcomes reflect the relative power of various groups to influence government. Such a view is reflected in a growing volume of research based reports of class inequalities in state welfare (Le Grand, 1982, Le Grand and Winter, 1987, Goodin and Le Grand 1987).

Where occupational class is a factor which is associated with attitudes to distributional issues in the NHS, it involves a distinction between manual and non-manual labour. This is not the case where consumer participation issues in the NHS are concerned however. Class divisions in these attitudes to welfare do exist but they appear to operate along unfamiliar lines. Consider Table Forty Seven, for instance.

Clearly, the pattern which is expressed in the data in this table is one which involves a division between group one (OPCS one and two) and groups two, three and four (OPCS 3N to five). Sixty three per cent of respondents in group one agreed with the proposition 'the NHS has a fair complaints procedure', compared to eight per cent of the remaining groups. The Cramer's V coefficient for this table is high indicating a very strong relationship between row and column variables.

The nature of the relationship suggests that members of the occupational groups experience the process of consumer participation in the NHS in different ways. More specifically, it can be suggested that respondents in occupational group one experience this process in

a more congenial way. Possibly, they find it easier to express their interests to or are treated with greater respect by health service professionals. In any event, they tend not be be as dissatisfied as the rest of the population.

Distributional issues are more contentious in class terms than aspects of the process of consumer participation in the NHS, particularly those issues which are concerned with inequalities in the consumption of private and public health care. Basically, middle class respondents expressed a preference for the status quo of inequality in both sectors while manual respondents expressed an interest in changing this situation. Taylor Gooby's attitudinal 'homogeneity' exists at one level only. At another level the reality of health care in the UK is that non-manual workers receive a better service in both the public and private sectors. This reality is reflected in attitudinal polarization along class lines. This puts a question mark after the notion that universal state social services have the capacity to generate a community of interests which overrides occupational class cleavages. Health care in the U.K. is a class issue and this is reflected in the perceptions of people who are asked about this.

In terms of consumer participation, the cleavage which emerged in the data involved a division between respondents in occupation group one and all other groups. Members of group one are satisfied in their role as consumers. It was suggested that this is because their experience are qualitatively better than those of the rest of the population. Cleavages based on class were not so apparent in the data which related to participation in health care.

ii) Housing provision. As far as the expenditure aspect of housing provision is concerned, the most frequent and significant patterns expressed in the data involved a division between manual and non-manual respondents.

Consider Table Forty Eight, for instance. It it concerned with the distributional outcomes of the different processes which constitute the housing market. In reality, these outcomes may often be

unrelated to the investments of entrepreneurial energy made by individuals in pursuit of their housing careers. However, the focus here is not necessarily on the reality but on the way these outcomes are perceived by the general public. Do they believe that the sort of housing that people get reflects individual initiative or lack of it and is therefore deserved?

The sample was polarized along class lines on this issue. Seventy eight per cent of non-manual workers agreed with the statement 'basically people get the sort of housing they deserve', compared to only twelve per cent of manual workers. A value for Cramer's V of 0.663 indicates that there is a very strong relationship between occupational class defined as a distinction between manual and non-manual labour and public attitudes to the distributional outcomes of the housing market. This is supported by the pattern of responses to the statement 'people complain too much about homelessness and bad housing conditions'. Fifty eight per cent of non-manual workers agreed with the statement compared to only eight per cent of manual workers. Again, a value of 0.572 for Cramer's V indicates a very strong relationship between this version of occupational class and public attitudes.

It is quite apparent that many manual workers feel that the way in which housing and housing conditions in the UK are distributed is unfair. Non-manual workers are quite happy with the situation, however. Not only do they believe that the distribution of housing in the UK is 'just', but they also feel that individuals have no right to complain about a situation which is 'deserved'. It is easy to understand why this class differential in these particular attitudes should exist. A number of writers have convincingly demonstrated at the level of philosophical analysis that the 'amount' of freedom experienced by an individual is a product of the resources that s/he commands (Goodin 1982, Held 1985). Generally speaking, non-manual workers have more control over their lives as a result of this process. These individuals will therefore experience their housing careers as 'free agents' making choices between a wider range of options. Conversely, the 'field of play' experienced by many non-manual workers is constrained by the level of household income,

the lending policies of building societies and the increasing difficulties involved in obtaining public sector housing. The 'amount' of choice exercised by manual workers in their housing careers is, therefore, limited. Thus freedom of choice, which is unequally distributed along class lines, lies at the heart of public attitudes to certain aspects of housing provision. This is reflected in attitudes to the relationship between public subsidies and the availability of owner occupation.

This relationship is summarised by the data in Table Forty Nine. Eighty per cent of manual respondents agreed with the proposition 'the government should do more to help low income families to buy their own homes' compared to eleven per cent of non-manual respondents. The high value for Cramer's V indicates a strong relationship between occupational class and public attitudes to this particular aspect of owner occupation.

This adds another dimension to the results which have just been discussed. In addition to believing that the distributional outcomes of housing market processes are just and that actors involved in these processes have no grounds for complaint, non-manual workers appear to disagree with government policies aimed at bringing about a more equal distribution of owner occupation. It comes as no surprise that manual workers have a preference for extending the range of choice in their housing careers, and in the housing careers of those who are less advantaged.

Table Forty Nine is interesting in that it suggests that public perceptions of the distributional aspects of housing are related to an underlying class conflict which centres on the distribution of state subsidies. This was noted in relation to public perceptions of class differences in the consumption of public and private health care. It seems that the impulses underlying public attitudes to state expenditure on social welfare are not the same impulses which guided Titmuss's analysis of inequalities in social welfare and Beveridge's moral injunction that their extreme manifestations, the five giants, are bad for the health of the nation and ought to be erradicated. Rather, these impulses are related to self-interest which, speaking in sociological terms, is class interest. Furthermore, the pattern of

responses according to occupational class appears to reflect actually existing bases of conflict over the distribution of public subsidies.

This picture of a class based conflict over the distribution of state subsidies is reflected in public attitudes to council rents. Where Table Forty Nine dealt with class differences in state subsidies for owner occupation, Table Fifty is implicitly concerned with the relationship between occupational class and public attitudes to the balance between the competing interests of owner occupiers and council tenants which is involved in state housing subsidies. The results indicate that there is a very strong relationship. Eighty per cent of manual respondents, for instance, disagreed with the proposition 'Council rents are too low and should be increased', compared to twenty nine per cent of non-manual respondents. Occupational class differences based on the distinction between manual and non-manual households were clearly reflected in public attitudes to council rents.

The relationship of occupational class to public attitudes about participation issues in housing was not nearly as significant as it was with expenditure issues. Three strong statistical relationships were found and two of these are worth reporting in this section. Both relate to the relationship between tenant and landlord, whether public or private. Respondents who were owner occupiers may therefore have been commenting on a situation of which they have had little or no direct experience, although recent evidence indicates that many current owner-occupiers started their housing careers in the public or private rented sectors (Savage, et al, 1990).

Eighty three per cent of manual respondents disagreed with the statement 'people who rent their homes complain too much about their landlords'. This may explain the finding, previously commented on, of the preference expressed by manual respondents for access to owner-occupation. This may not be the only acceptable solution to dissatisfaction with renting, however. An alternative possibility, for public renters at least, is for the government to initiate and implement changes which would improve the situation of council tenants. Some of the range of possible changes are summarized in

the proposition 'it is important that council tenants have more control over the way their estates are managed'. Seventy nine per cent of manual respondents expressed agreement.

Non-manual respondents expressed different views on these Likert items. They felt that tenants complain too much and disagreed with the policy of extending control to tenants. This indicates that 'control' is seen by the middle classes to be a privilege which is to be associated with owner-occupation only.

To summarize social cleavages based on occupational class are particularly strong on distributional issues in housing provision. This probably reflects the fact that the potential for conflict is much greater in an area of social welfare which is more obviously socially differentiated than the other two social services. The only pattern to emerge in the attitudinal data involved a strong division between manual and non-manual workers in relation to both expenditure and consumption issues although this division emerged more frequently on the expenditure issues. Strong class divisions emerged in relation to distributional outcomes in the housing market, homelessness, housing conditions, access to owner occupation and state housing subsidies. Indeed, the entire range of important housing issues was a focus for class related antagonisms.

In sum, members of the manual working class disagree with inequalities, bad housing conditions, homelessness and state subsidies for high income households and they want government assisted access to owner occupation. Non-manual workers are happy with the status quo. Where consumer participation is concerned, manual workers tend to adopt an unfavourable attitude to the relationship between tenant and landlord. This fits with their preference for owner-occupation. However, they also agree with policies which would enable tenants to exercise greater control over their affairs. This suggests that a Labour Party which wanted to retain its support among manual workers could do so by publicly coming down in favour of low income owner occupation and tenant power. This may alienate middle class voters, however. Non-manual workers are not particularly sympathetic to the idea of social welfare for the deprived.

iii) Social security provision. The results which are discussed in this section in relation to expenditure issues are concerned with two broad themes; distributional issues and the relationship between social benefits and work.

One of the most important issues in the area of social security is the attitudes of the general public to the poor and to poverty. Such attitudes are an important influence on the way in which social security legislation is framed and implemented. The results in Table Fifty One are a summary of these attitudes and they demonstrate that public opinion is by no means homogeneous in its orientation to the issue of poverty. The poor are not universally despised as some earlier studies have appeared to indicate. Seventy eight per cent of non-manual workers agreed with the proposition 'people complain too much about poverty' compared to eighteen per cent of manual workers. The value for the Cramer's V statistic indicates that there is a very strong relationship between occupational class defined in terms of the distinction between manual and non-manual labour and public attitudes to poverty.

A similar kind of cleavage was apparent here as with distributional issues in health care and housing provision. Middle class respondents were prepared to tolerate the existence of poor health, poor housing and poverty among a large section of the population. Conversely, working class respondents tended to sympathise with the poor and disadvantaged. Some of them directly experience poverty and disadvantage. Others are not be that far removed from these situations in terms of their place in the overall distribution of income and wealth.

It came as little surprise, then, to find that manual respondents were not totally averse to government policies aimed at redistributing income and wealth. This is demonstrated by the results in Table Fifty Two. Seventy seven per cent of manual respondents expressed support for such policies, compared to sixty one per cent of non-manual respondents who disagreed. These results suggest that there is a class base to the politics of poverty and contradict the findings of earlier studies. Some of these studies indicate that the

population in general adopts a harsh attitude to the poor. In this context, the politics of poverty is presented as a process involving well intentioned and enlightened middle class professionals and pressure groups in an uphill struggle to achieve a better deal for the poor (Macgregor, 1981). Conversely, the results of other studies but particularly the 'Breadline Britain' survey have demonstrated that the general public is sympathetic to the poor and to policies aimed at improving their situation. The results in Table Seventeen indicate that both positions are simplifications which serve to distort the class dimension to the politics of poverty. If the Labour Party advocates a policy of redistribution at the level of public debate, it is likely to alienate the majority of middle class voters. If, on the other hand, the Labour Party pursues its intention of attracting middle class voters, it may have to downplay radical anti-poverty policies or slot them into the fine print of their next election manifesto where they will be visible to the most discerning of political analysts only.

Attitudes to private pension schemes mirror attitudes to private health care and owner occupation. Fifty three per cent of non-manual respondents disagreed with the proposition that 'the government should do more to help those on low incomes to get private pension schemes'. Eighty per cent of manual workers agreed with the policy expressed in this statement.

If the principal social cleavage underlying public attitudes to poverty issues is one that involves a distinction between manual and non-manual labour, this does not apply where public attitudes to social security benefit levels and work incentives are concerned. This is demonstrated by the results in Table Fifty Three which is concerned with public perceptions of the notion of 'workfare', a set of policies which obliges those in receipt of social security benefits to work for them. Eight one per cent of respondents in occupational groups one, two and three expressed agreement with the proposition 'people who receive social security benefits should be encouraged to work for them', compared to only twenty seven per cent of those in occupational group four (RG four and five). The cleavage expressed in this table involved an attitudinal polarization between those who were more likely to be in receipt of social security benefits as a

result of their position in the social structure and the securely employed and relatively affluent majority. The value of Cramer's V indicates that this relationship is statistically very significant.

This cleavage was also evident in the pattern of responses to the statement 'benefits for the unemployed are too low and cause hardship'. Sixty six per cent of respondents in occupational groups one, two and three disagreed compared to eighty one per cent of respondents in group four who agreed. This pattern does not present too many problems in terms of explanation. First, it is not surprising that those who are more likely to be in receipt of benefits should disagree with the notions that they are too high and that they should be worked for. Second, it is already known from the data which has been presented in this section that middle class people adopt an uncharitable attitude to social welfare at the deprived end of the social structure. What needs to be understood and explained is why skilled manual workers adopt a 'pro-welfare for the deprived' attitude on some social security issues and an 'anti-welfare for the deprived' attitude where other social security issues are concerned. The obvious answer is that the differences can be explained by the nature of the issues involved. The two constituencies involved in the attitude statements are the 'poor' on the one hand and those in receipt of unemployment benefits on the other. Definitions of 'the poor' are variable and it may be that many manual working class people have been in a situation at some point in their lifecycles which they considered to approximate poverty. Seen in this light, sympathy for the poor among manual workers is understandable. Unemployment, on the other hand, may elicit negative associations with 'laziness' and 'fecklessness'. This reflects the fact that work is central to life in the U.K. Seen in this light, social security benefits for the unemployed are less likely to be favoured than policies aimed at improving the situation of the 'poor' and 'deprived'.

In terms of issues concerned with consumer participation in the social security system, the principal social cleavage which emerged in the data involved a division between occupational group one and groups two, three and four. Manual/non-manual divisions were also evident, however.

Consider Table Fifty Four. Fifty eight per cent of respondents in occupational group one agreed with the notion that 'the government does the best it can to inform people of their rights to benefits'. Ninety two per cent of groups two, three and four disagreed. A similar pattern emerged in responses to the proposition 'the social security system has a fair complaints procedure'. Forty nine per cent of occupational group one agreed compared to three per cent of groups two, three and four. This evidence indicates that it is these three groups who are most dissatisfied with the process of consumer participation in the social security system.

Where concrete proposals for extending 'voice' in this process were concerned, it was manual respondents who expressed a preference for change. For instance, ninety one per cent of respondents in this group agreed that 'ordinary people should have more of a say in the way the social security system is run'. Only thirty two per cent of non-manual workers agreed with this proposition. It may be possible to explain this in terms of the wording of the statement. The phrase 'ordinary people' may carry with it particular class connotations which only manual respondents could identify with. This being so it was unlikely that middle class people would agree with a policy which would give ordinary people more of a say in the way the social security system is run, in the light of what is known about their attitudes to social welfare for manual households.

In sum, the class divisions which are associated with public attitudes to social security are complex and vary according to the issues involved.

As far as the issues of poverty and anti-poverty policy are concerned, the cleavage which emerged in the data involved manual workers who favoured the poor and non-manual workers who did not. A similar division underpinned public attitudes to private fiscal welfare. Manual respondents wanted greater access to private pensions but non-manual respondents were opposed to this.

However, the division which emerged in attitudes to workfare, social security claimants and unemployment benefits involved those in groups one, two and three who expressd an unfavourable attitude to the unemployed and group four whose perceptions favoured this group.

The principal social cleavage which emerged in the data in response to participation issues involved a division between group one and groups two, three and four. Basically, respondents in group one were happy with the status quo; the social security system does have a fair complaints procedure and the information provided by the government to the public about available benefits is sufficient. Respondents in groups two, three and four were dissatisfied with these aspects of social security provision.

iv) Occupational class and attitudes to welfare. Occupational class is strongly related to public attitudes about social welfare issues; this has been powerfully demonstrated by an analysis of the data in Tables Forty Five to Fifty Four.

Appendix Two consists of a list of the tables in which were expressed the strongest relationships between occupational class and public attitudes to welfare. A number of points can be made about this information.

First, the predominant and strongest form of cleavage underlying public attitudes to welfare is one which involves a division between manual and non-manual workers. This applies to housing more than it does to health and social security but is evident in all three areas of social welfare.

Second, the nature of occupational class divisions varies according to the service in question. For a start, the manual/non-manual division predominates in housing. However, alternative lines of cleavage emerge in attitudes to social security, particularly the divisions between the deprived and the affluent, although the manual/non-manual distinction is most noticeable.

Third, strong class divisions are more evident in attitudes to expenditure issues rather than participation issues. The extent to which expenditure is a contentious issue is considerable. Moreover, the nature of the occupational class divisions underlying attitudes to participation is different. With the exception of housing, attitudinal cleavages here tend to involve a division between those in occupational group one and the rest of the population.

If occupational class is strongly associated with specific attitudes to welfare, to what extent is it associated with attitudes to welfare in general? This was measured by constructing Likert scales from the pool of attitudinal items. There are six Likert scales and they represent the expenditure and participation dimensions of each of the three services. The extent to which each respondent is pro-expenditure or pro-consumer participation can be assessed by his total score for each scale. Basically, the higher the score, the more 'pro' rather than 'anti'. Table Fifty Five contains the mean scores of the occupational classes for each scale.

It also contains R2 for each of the six scales. This was generated by correlating occupational class with individual scores. Both R2 and the mean class scores indicate that the relationship between occupational class and overall attitudes to expenditure and participation in health care, housing provision and social security provision is not a straightforward one.

First, the values for R2 which were obtained by correlating class with the individual scores for the two health scales were small suggesting that class does not explain a great deal of the variance in overall attitudes to health care. It may be more appropriate to analyse attitudes to expenditure issues in health care in class terms according to specific issues and areas of policy. Some of these are more related to class than others, and particularly those aspects of health care in the U.K. in which class inequalities are apparent. Conversly, occupational class was not significantly associated with attitudes to the full range of participation issues in health care.

Similarly, the mean scores obtained for the different occupational class groups which are measures of overall attitudes to expenditure and participation in social security provision are not open to a straightforward interpretation, even though R2 for both scales is quite large. For instance, the scores in the expenditure scale suggest that the principal cleavage which underpins overall attitudes is one which involves a division between occupational groups one, two and three and group four. This is a useful result but it hides the fact that the manual/non-manual distinction is significantly associated with attitudes to certain areas of expenditure on social security. Again, it may be appropriate to analyze attitudes to expenditure on social security provision according to the issues involved rather than to measure them through a scale which purports to represent a single dimension of attitudes.

The differences between the mean scores for the scale concerned with participation in social security were small. This will reflect the different patterns which were evident in this data, patterns which involved cleavages based on different combinations of occupational groups according to the objects of attitudinal evaluation. It may also reflect the fact that occupational class was not as significantly associated with the range of particiaption issues as it was with expenditure issues. Again, expenditure was more important in class terms.

Clearly, Likert scales are more appropriate to the measurement of class attitudes to expenditure and participation issues in housing provision. There is a clear differentiation between the mean scores of manual and non-manual respondents in both scales, and this reflects the fact that the manual/non-manual distinction emerged more frequently in responses to the individual statements which dealt with housing issues. This differentiation is sharper where expenditure and distributional issues are concerned. Housing is a class issue in terms of one principal cleavage which was expressed in responses to the full range of statements, but it is more of a class issue where bread and butter issues are concerned.

Conclusion

The data which have been presented and discussed in this chapter enable a number of points to be made at this stage about the nature of public attitudes to welfare in contemporary Britain and the relationship of occupational class to these attitudes.

First, the homogeneity in public attitudes to certain aspects of welfare provision which previous studies have pointed to has been confirmed in the results of the Plymouth survey. Support for spending on the N.H.S. was universal, and services for the elderly and women in health, housing and social security were favoured. Benefits for the unemployed, on the other hand, did not elicit a great deal of support among respondents. In the light of the results of earlier studies and of the Plymouth survey, it can be suggested that this homogeneity is an enduring feature of public attitudes to these issues and areas of welfare policy. Second, a heterogeneous pattern of responses to statements which dealt with different issues was also apparent. In the main, these were issues which dealt with social and economic inequalities and which involved the possibility of a conflict of interest between different socio-economic groups. Attitudinal homogeneity appears to exist at a level where the interests of the majority converge around specific issues. Conversely, attitudinal heterogeneity appears to be generated by situations where the distribution of subsidies or services involves potential or actual conflict over relative shares between different socio-economic groups. These socio-economic groups were, in fact, specified in the section of this chapter which reported the bivariate analyses of the relationship between occupational class and attitudes to welfare.

Second, the response frequencies which related to consumer participation in welfare are new and add to our understanding of this issue. In particular, they enable the observer to identify areas of attitudinal homogeneity and heterogeneity, although any generalisations resulting from such an exercise must be regarded as provisional as there are very few empirical reference points in this area.

As far as health care was concerned, a large majority of respondents were dissatisfied with a range of aspects of the process of consumer participation in the NHS and this was reflected in similar proportions who positively evaluated, 'innovation'. This reinforced the results of empirical studies which were cited in Chapter Two (Papadikis and Taylor Gooby, 1987, Hyde and Deacon, 1986).

One similarity was apparent in the data which related to state provided housing and associated services in that a large majority of respondents expressed unfavourable evaluations of a range of aspects of the process of consumer participation in this section. However, a substantial minority were opposed to a policy of extending more control to council tenants.

Again, a large majority of respondents expressed unfavourable perceptions of the process of consumer participation in the state social security system. However, as with housing, a large proportion of respondents disagreed with a proposed policy aimed at extending voice to users of the system.

The areas of homogeneity can be readily identified. These are dissatisfaction with aspects of consumer participation in all three areas of provision and a desire for innovation in the NHS. Heterogeneity describes evaluations of innovation in the minority services, council housing and the social security system. As with expenditure issues, attitudinal homogeneity and heterogeneity reflect patterns of self-interest.

Third, the nature of the class divisions which were expressed in the data varied according to the area of welfare concerned. For instance, the manual/non-manual distinction was important for attitudes to all three areas of welfare policy, but more important for housing provision. A majority/minority type cleavage was also expressed in the data which related to social security provision.

Fourth, the frequency with which class based divisions emerged in the data varied according to whether it was consumption or the experience of consumption which was the object of evaluation. This

suggests that resource and distributional issues are more important than participation issues in terms of their conflict potential. The sociological and political significance of both sets of issues is further discussed in the next chapter.

Fifth, the frequency with which class based divisions emerged in the data varied, according to the area of welfare concerned. Class based divisions emerged more frequently in the data which related to housing and social security provision. This suggests that there may be a certain amount of substance to Titmuss's argument that universal state social services have the capacity to generate a common committment on the part on the part of users which can over-ride market generated class differences. However, the analyses which are presented in the next chapter suggest that this attitudinal homogeneity is based, not on the common exercise of citizenship rights or altruism engendered by state policies but on pecuniary considerations. This view is reinforced by the observation that conflicting interests were apparent in responses to certain items which dealt with health-care.

Table Thirty Six — Public attitudes about public spending on the NHS% (N=143)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Spending on the NHS has gone too far and should be cut back	3	24	6	50	17
The NHS has enough doctors and nurses	2	12	4	71	11
Prescription charges should be increased for all	1	6	12	73	8

Table Thirty Seven — Attitudes to women, the eldery and welfare % (N=143)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
There are not enough female doctors and consultants in the NHS	3	66	12	17	2
It is important than more money be put into cancer screening for women	10	65	11	11	3
Women who want abortions should be encouraged to pay for them privately	1	60	8	19	6
The NHS takes too much responsibility for the care of elderly people	1	13	6	73	8

Table Thirty Eight — Attitudes to private medical care % (N=143)

	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
The government should do more to help low income families get private medical treatment	6	44	8	34	9
Private medical care gives people an unfair advantage	6	48	6	29	11

Table Thirty nine Consumer preferences for choice, voice and control in the NHS % (N=143)

	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1) It is important that people who use the NHS can see the doctor of their choice	6	63	11	13	8
2) Doctors and consultants always know what is best for patients	2	16	8	62	11
3) The general public needs more information about the services which are available in the NHS	13	75	3	8	1
4) It is important that doctors and consultants have the biggest say in the way the NHS is run	11	43	8	32	7

Table Forty Public attitudes to distributional issues in housing provision % (N=143)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Basically, people get the sort of housing they deserve	7	38	13	33	10
The government should do more to help low income families to buy their own homes	4	43	6	33	15
People complain too much about homelessness and bad housing conditions	4	29	13	47	8
Government subsidies for high income homeowners are unfair	10	49	13	20	8
The government should do more to help those living in poor housing conditions	10	56	9	22	3
Council rents are too low and should be increased	8	51	14	24	4

Table Forty One — Public attitudes to choice, voice and control in housing provision % (N=143)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Council housing would be more desirable if people had more choice about the sort of housing they could get	4	63	10	22	2
Elderly people in residential homes should have more of a say in the way they are run	4	73	12	9	2
Ordinary people should have more of a say in the lending policies of building societies	6	61	13	18	3
It is very important that council tenants have more control over the way their estates are managed	1	50	8	36	4

Table Forty Two — Public attitudes to the re-distribution of income % (N=143)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
The government should do more to help those on low incomes to get private pension schemes	4	47	11	28	11
People complain too much about poverty	5	43	6	39	1
It is important that income wealth be redistributed in favour of the poor	13	33	8	36	11

Table Forty three — Public attitudes to work and welfare % (N=143)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Benefits for the unemployed are too high and discourage people from finding jobs	3	42	8	45	3
People who leave work of their own accord should not be entitled to benefits	1	38	11	46	5
People who receive social security benefits should be encouraged to work for them	10	53	6	28	4

Table Forty four — Public attitudes to 'choice' and 'voice' in the social security system (N=143)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
The government does the best it can to inform people of their rights to benefits	1	24	4	64	7
Ordinary people need more information about the way the social security system works	2	62	9	23	6
Most people would prefer to have a private pension scheme as this would allow more choice	6	59	14	18	2

Table Forty five — Occupational class and attitudes to private medical care (N=142)

Private Medical care gives people who can pay an unfair advantage

	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	N
Non Manual %	16	10	73	69
Manual %	76	5	17	73

X2 = 53.53437 Cramer's V = 0.61401

Table Forty six — Occupational class and public attitudes to inequalities in the NHS (N=142)

'Families on high income get too much out of the NHS'.

	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	N
Non Manual %	37	7	55	69
Manual %	75	21	3	73

X2 = 48.47041 Cramer's V = 0.58424

Table Forty seven — Occupational class and public satisfaction with the NHS complaints procedure (N-142)

'The NHS has a fair complaints procedure'.

	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	N
1 %	63	2	35	55
2,3,4 %	8	26	65	87

Table Forty eight — Occupational class and public attitudes to distributional outcomes in the housing market (N=142)

'Basically, people get the sort of housing they deserve'

	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	N
Non Manual %	78	6	15	69
Manual %	12	19	68	73

X^2 = 62.56981 Cramer's V = 0.66380

Table Forty nine — Occupational class and public attitudes the availability of owner occupation (N=142)

'The government should do more to help low income families to buy their own homes'

	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	N
Non Manual %	11	7	81	69
Manual %	80	5	15	73

X^2 = 68.15519 Cramer's V = 0.69280

Table Fifty — Occupational class and public attitudes to council rents (N=142)

'Council rents are too low and should be increased'

	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	N
Non Manual %	52	18	29	69
Manual %	2	10	88	73

55.19980 0.62348

Table Fifty One — Occupational class and public attitudes to poverty (N=142)

'People complain too much about poverty'

	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	N
Non Manual %	78	7	14	69
Manual %	18	5	76	73

X^2 = 57.19398 Cramer's V = 0.63465

Table Fifty two — Occupational class and public attitudes to re-distribution (N=142)

'It is important that the government re-distribute income and wealth'

	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	N
Non Manual %	28	9	61	69
Manual %	77	6	16	73

X^2 = 30.76874 Cramer's V = 0.46549

Table Fifty three — Occupational class and public attitudes to workfare (N=142)

'People who receive social security benefits should be encouraged to work for them'

	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	N
1,2,3 %	81	7	11	94
4 %	27	2	71	48

X^2 = 53.85180 Cramer's V = 0.61582

Table Fifty four — Occupational class and public attitudes to the state's dissemination (N=143)

'The government does the best it can to inform people of their rights to benefits'.

	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	N
1 %	58	3	38	55
2,3,4 %	3	5	92	87

X^2 = 54.72812 Cramer's V = 0.62082

Table Fifty Five — Mean scores of each occupational class for the six Likert scales

	HS Housing Spending	HC Housing Consumer	HES Health Spending	HEC Health Consumer	IS Income Spending	IC Income Consumer
One	17.3	22.0	29.7	20.4	16.2	23.6
Two	17.1	23.7	24.2	28.0	28.0	23.9
Three	29.6	27.4	27.2	25.1	24.2	23.4
Four	27.2	28.6	28.6	25.6	34.8	25.6
R2	0.329	0.290	0.080	0.161	0.465	0.348

CHAPTER SEVEN

ISSUES AND VALUES IN SOCIAL WELFARE: THE QUALITATIVE DIMENSION

In Chapter Six a picture of the structure of public attitudes to welfare and their association with occupational class was generated from analyses of the Plymouth survey data. However, although this picture provides a useful guide to the broad pattern of class attitudes to welfare in Plymouth, it doesn't achieve what Weber terms 'adequacy at the level of meaning' (Weber, 1968, p 12). A set of statistical uniformities and probabilities, on its own, is open to criticism on methodological grounds and in terms of the validity of the theoretical generalizations which they enable the analyst to make. It is necessary, therefore, to complement such data with a more direct account based on empirical reference points which are closer to the evaluative and affective worlds of respondents.

In the context of the Plymouth survey, there were two specific reasons for wanting to generate such an account. First, it was necessary to consider the issue of salience as it is concerned with the importance which people attach to issues. Quantitative data is generated in interview situations where respondents are presented with range of options dealing with specific issues from which they can choose, regardless of how important they consider these issues to be. If the salience of these issues to respondents can be established, it becomes possible to comment on the sociological significance of patterns in the quantitative data.

Second, people are not simply the bearers of class relationships. Whilst this study proceeded on the basis of the assumption that the experience of life at different points in the social structure is associated with specific sets of material interests and social and political attitudes which are distinguishable, it was also recognized that people are actively involved in these processes. They therefore have a 'definition of the situation' which is of crucial importance to an adequate understanding of class attitudes to welfare.

The importance to respondents of the issues which were presented to them was assessed through an analysis of the unprompted comments about the Likert items which were recorded during fieldwork. These comments were deliberately unprompted in order to establish the importance of their objects to the respondents who made them. Certain issues were more important than others. For instance, resource and distributional issues were more important to respondents than issues associated with the notion of consumer participation.

Furthermore, what emerged were expressions of values and principles which related to philosophical debates about the moral basis of welfare provision. Values such as entitlement, desserts, fairness and equality were invoked to justify interests in relation to welfare. Moreover, occupational class appeared to be an important factor in the kinds of values which were expressed by respondents.

The relative importance to respondents of issues in welfare and the values which they associated with these issues are reported below in two sections. In section one, the ideas which respondents associated with public policy and the distribution of welfare are reported. Section two reports the ideas which respondents expressed in relation to aspects of consumer participation in public welfare.

Section One. Social Values and public expenditure

Public attitudes about various aspects of welfare policy in the 1980s were reviewed in Chapter Six and the results of this exercise indicated that there is a strong occupational class basis to the politics of welfare. Thus the quantitative responses of non-manual respondents appeared to accord with the welfare policies of the Thatcher government in the 1980s in that they favoured general social inequalities (which have deepened) and supported inequalities in the consumption of public welfare (from which they continue to benefit) and private welfare (which is still largely a middle class phenomenon). The Thatcher government claims to want greater 'freedom' and 'choice' for lower income households but it must be judged on its record rather than its rhetoric, particularly in view of the fact that income inequalities appear to have deepened during the course of the last decade.

At the same time, the quantitative responses of manual workers appeared to be closer to the import of current Labour Party policy in that they were generally opposed to social inequalities, opposed to inequalities in the consumption of welfare and favoured owner occupation, which after a decade of Thatcherism the Labour Party now recognises as a valid way of meeting housing aspirations. However, it must be said that the gap between the aspirations of non-manual households and Conservative Party Policy was smaller than the gap between the aspirations of manual households and Labour Party Policy.

Do people justify their interests in relation to welfare policy in the same way that academics and politicians do? In other words, are their preferences based simply on perceptions of 'self-interest' or do they appeal to wider and more abstract social values such as equality, fairness and justice? These questions were answered through an examination of the comments which were made by some of the respondents when responding to the Likert items. Forty four respondents commented on the items which dealt with resource and distributional issues and sixteen of them did so more than once.

The results of this exercise indicated that values in social policy are not the sole preserve of academics and politicians. They also indicated that different kinds of values tend to be emphasized by manual and non-manual workers when justifying interests in relation to welfare. These results are discussed below in relation to private welfare, distributional conflict and public welfare.

i) Private Welfare.

The bivariate analyses which were reported in Chapter Six indicated that the general public is sharply divided along occupational class lines on the issue of social inequalities in the consumption of private welfare and on policies aimed at extending private welfare to lower income households. Non-manual workers favoured inequalities and were opposed to public policies involving subsidies and aimed at extending private welfare to the less financially able sections of society. Conversely, manual workers were opposed to inequalities in the consumption of private welfare and enthusiastic about policies aimed at extending private welfare. Small proportions of households in each of the occupational class categories deviated from the class norm. This prompted two questions. First, how did respondents who were typical in terms of the overall class pattern in the responses justify their perceptions of private welfare and their preferences for sectoral consumption? Second, how did respondents who were atypical in terms of their responses justify their perceptions and preferences?

The first set of comments to be examined related to perceptions of existing social inequalities in the consumption of private welfare in health and housing. The nature of the class divisions which were expressed in these comments varied according to the service in question. For instance, none of the respondents who remarked on the housing inequality statements were atypical in terms of what they said.

The following remark best summarizes the comments which were made by non-manual workers about the statement, 'Government subsidies for high income homeowners are unfair'.

'They are not unfair because people on high incomes

pay a lot more in tax. They are entitled to subsidy'. [Male, SG1, Age 55, FT employment, Conservative].

Conversely, manual workers who remarked on statement were generally unsympathetic to the idea that owner occupation among high income households should be subsidized by the government. This was expressed as follows:

'people who are on bigger incomes don't need government handouts'. [Male, SG4, Age 43, FT employment, Labour].
'Tax relief is negligible but grants could be means tested'. [Male, SG3, Age 33, FT employment, owner occupier, Labour].

Note that these statements, on the one hand, posited that a greater contribution in terms of taxation justifies an entitlement to specific state benefits. This is held to be 'fair'. Conversely, entitlement was linked to need by manual respondents.

Responses to the issue of public subsidies for high income owner occupiers, then, involved different principles which were invoked according to the class location of the respondent. Non-manual respondents appealed to entitlement based on contribution whilst manual workers appealed to entitlement based on need.

The remarks which were made by manual respondents about the issue of social inequalities in the consumption of private medical care appeared to accord with party political preferences rather than class interests. For example, manual workers who commented on this issue were divided along party political lines, where Conservative identifiers were sympathetic to inequalities and Labour identifiers were unsympathetic. When remarking on the statement 'Private medical care gives people who can pay an unfair advantage', Conservative identifiers appeared to accord with the sentiment:

'People are entitled to spend their money in any way they want'. [SG3, Male, FT employment, Age 35, Council tenant, Conservative].

Conversely, Labour identifiers who commented on this issue were more likely to remark on the unfair nature of private health care. Thus one respondent asserted that:

'a two tier system is unfair'. [SG4, Male, Retired, Age 69, Council tenant, Labour].

Note again the principles which are invoked to justify or criticize inequalities in the consumption of private medical care. On the one hand a market liberal conception of freedom is invoked to justify inequalities in consumption. Conversely, equality is appealed to in order to criticize the unfairness of two welfare states which cater for the needs of households in different income brackets.

Generally, the different ideological implications of these statements do not reflect the distribution of the structured responses by occupational class, where it was indicated that a large majority of respondents in manual households were unsympathetic to inequalities in private health. The remarks of Labour identifiers were typical of the results of the pattern in the quantitative data which was generated by crosstabulating occupational class with the responses to the Likert item whilst the remarks of Conservative identifiers were not. This suggests that party political preferences may have had a role to play among the small proportion of manual working class respondents who were atypical in terms of their perceptions of the issue of inequalities in private medical care.

What do respondents feel about the extension of private welfare to households whose income does not permit them to consume in this sector? The analyses which were presented in Chapter Six indicated that there is a strong division between manual and non-manual households on this issue as it related to housing, health and social security. Manual respondents favoured the extension of private welfare to low income households whilst non-manual respondents tended not to. An examination of respondents' remarks on this issue indicated that it was 'positional awareness' rather than the Thatcherite concerns of 'freedom' and 'efficiency' which guided policy preferences among respondents who were typical in terms of their scores on the relevant Likert items. A small proportion of manual respondents were 'atypical' in that they did not favour the extension of owner occupation, private health care and private pensions and a

number of these remarked on the appropriate Likert items. These remarks were also examined.

First, those remarks made by respondents which accorded with the general class pattern in the data. Manual respondents who remarked on the statement 'The government should do more to help low income families to buy their own homes' were quite clear about their belief that owner occupation provides better value for money than renting. The following comment was typical.

> 'A very good idea. What is the point in paying rent all of your life when you could have ended up paying for a house twice over'. [SG4, Retired, Age 69, Council tenant, Labour].

Conversely, non-manual respondents were eager to stress that different kinds of housing provision are appropriate for households on different income levels.

> 'No, council housing exists for people who can't afford to buy their own homes'. [SG2, Housewife, Age 42, Owner occupier, Conservative].

Manual respondents who commented were more likely to emphasize the desirability of owner occupation in terms of financial practicalities. One imagines that the same kind of considerations enter into the calculations of non-manual owner occupiers. Non-manual respondents invoked a kind of 'safety net' principle involving direct state provision for those households who are financially unable to secure their housing careers through owner occupation.

However, atypical manual respondents who commented on the issue tended to invoke the same principle but to qualify it with the suggestion that direct state provision should be expanded. Thus it was argued:

> 'No, I don't agree. We need a lot more housing for low income families but this should be supplied by the government' [SG3, Housewife, Age 34, Owner occupier, Alliance].

This was reflected in the remarks that atypical manual working

class respondents made about the statement 'the sale of council housing should not be allowed'. One suggested that:

> 'Council housing is for need. Rate payers money was used to build them so they should be kept for people who need them'. [SG4, Female, retired, Age 68, council tenant, Labour].

One suspects that the motivations of typical non-manual respondents and atypical manual respondents in making similar comments on the issues of extending owner-occupation were not identical. Non-manual respondents tended to emphasize the 'appropriateness' of public sector housing for low income households whilst manual respondents tended to emphasize the expansion of the public sector with a view to meeting need.

The comments which were made by manual respondents about the issue of extending private health care were similar in terms of their import. It will be recalled that the overwhelming majority of manual workers agreed with such a policy. A typical comment on the statement 'the government should do more to help low income families to get private medical treatment' objected that:

> 'it isn't fair that only people with money can have it'. [SG4, Female, Age 28, housewife, housing association, Labour].

Conversely, it will also be recalled that a small proportion of manual respondents disagreed with the Likert item. A remark which was typical of the comments about this policy which were made by the few atypical manual respondents argued that:

> 'there isn't any need. The NHS is much better than the private sector so money should be directed to improvements here'. [SG4, Male, Age 43, FT employment, council tenant, Labour].

Although typical and atypical manual respondents disagreed on the policy of extending private health care, comments made by some of both sets of respondents appeared to accord with a similar egalitarian version of social justice. Thus the comments of typical manual respondents seemed to be informed by positional awareness and appealed to the notion of 'fairness' in the distribution of a particular resource. No reference was made to 'economic' efficiency

or 'freedom of choice'. This indicated that the views of manual workers who want private health accord more with the ideas of clause four, part four socialism in that they centre on the distributional aspect rather the tenor of the Thatcherite economic revolution which is based on the firm belief that the private sector is inherently superior to the public sector.

Conversely, the comments of atypical respondents objected to private health on the grounds that a superior service could be obtained through the public sector. Any extra public money for health care should be directed to this sector!

This sentiment was reflected in the comments of atypical manual respondents about the statement, 'the government should do more to help low income families to get private pension schemes'.

> 'No definitely not! The government should provide better pensions which are nowhere near enough to live on at the moment'. [Male, SG4, Retired, age 69, Council tenant, Labour].

Here, the emphasis was on the level of provision rather than the sector. Indeed, the sector of provision seemed almost irrelevant to the perceptions of those atypical manual respondents who commented on the issue of private pensions. What counted was what was in the pocket, not where it was coming from.

To summarize, the responses to the Likert items concerned with private welfare, which were reviewed in Chapter Six, were justified by some of the respondents in terms of distributional values and principles.

In terms of attitudes to inequalities in the consumption of private welfare, those values which were invoked varied according to the area of welfare which was in question. With housing, for instance, 'entitlement' seemed to be the central principle involved in expressed perceptions. For non-manual workers, entitlement to mortgage interest tax relief was linked to and justified in terms of contributions made through general taxation. Conversely, manual

workers suggested that entitlement should be linked to need. This excluded higher income groups from entitlement.

Although a large majority of manual respondents perceived the unequal distribution of private medical care to be unfair in terms of the quantitative data, a small number of them made comments which justified these inequalities on the grounds of 'freedom'; freedom to dispose of one's income as one chooses. Conversely, typical manual respondents appealed to the principle of 'fairness' in order to criticize inequalities. Equality was counterposed to freedom.

In terms of preferences which related to the extension of private welfare, non-manual respondents justified their opposition to a policy of extending subsidies for owner occupation to low income households through a positive argument for maintaining existing inequalities between tenures. Public sector housing was felt to be more appropriate for lower income households. An atypical manual respondent who commented also expressed a preference for retaining the public sector rather than extending owner occupation, albeit for different reasons. Collective provision was felt to be more appropriate for meeting pressing needs and this belief was coupled. with an argument for more expenditure to be directed to this purpose. However, a large majority of manual respondents were in favour of the government extending owner occupation and those who commented emphasized financial practicalities. It simply made more sense to obtain a financial investment as a result of meeting one's housing costs.

A large majority of manual respondents were also in favour of a policy of extending private medical care to lower income households and those who remarked on this appealed to the principle of 'fairness' in distribution involving equal access for all. In other words, positional awareness was justified in terms of the principle of equality.

Those atypical manual respondents who commented on private health and pensions appeared to be more concerned with financial considerations than abstract social values. Thus it was not the

sector of provision which was at issue but the level of provision. These atypical manual respondents were quite happy with state provided health care and pensions. They simply wanted more of them.

ii) Distributional conflicts.

It will be recalled, from Chapter Six, that there are strong occupational class differences in public perceptions of inequalities in welfare and of state interference in the course of distribution. The class differences are further demonstrated in Chapter Eight. Manual respondents were unlikely to concur with evaluations of inequalities in welfare which accept that they are inevitable or desirable. They also favoured redistribution through state social policies. Conversely, non-manual respondents favoured inequalities and deprivation and opposed egalitarian state interventionist approaches to welfare.

An examination of the comments which were made by a number of respondents about the Likert items which dealt with inequalities in welfare indicated that ordinary people justify their preferences for welfare in much the same way as politicians and academic social scientists. When expressing material class interests in relation to specific distributional issues, they invoke values and standards which are commonly accepted in our culture as justifications for distributional outcomes.

This can be considered first in relation to evaluations of the nature of inequalities. The following comment typifies the remarks which were made by typical manual respondents about the statement, 'Basically, people get the sort of housing they deserve'.

> 'No, availability of housing is not always good in particular areas'. [Male, SG4, Age 69, retired, council tenant, Labour].

The emphasis here was on constraints and lack of choice. Lower income households have to accept what is available! Conversely, typical non-manual respondents who remarked on the issue were more eager to emphasize the efficacy of individual action.

'Yes, people who work hard and save get what they deserve. People who don't work hard don't deserve the same'. [Male, SG2, Age 30, FT employment, owner occupier, Conservative].

Inequalities in housing reflect differential investments in time and money and are therefore deserved.

A similar ideological pattern of comments was prompted by the statement, 'people complain too much about homelessness and bad housing conditions'. For instance, typical manual respondents who remarked on this issue generally tended to concur with the objection:

'Chance would be a fine thing. If people complained enough, the government would be forced to do something about it'. [Male, SG4, Retired, Age 68, Council tenant, Labour].

Note that collective rather than individual action is emphasized as a basis for ameliorating inequalities.

Predictably, the opposite sentiment was expressed in the comments which were made by typical non-manual respondents. The following was typical.

'Yes, they should do something about it instead of complaining'. [Male, SG2, Age 30, F/T employment, Owner occupier, Conservative].

There was no consideration of the possibility that some people may have good reason to complain. Instead, the efficacy of action at the level of the individual was emphasized. No respondents who were atypical commented on the issue of inequalities in housing. It wasn't possible, therefore, to point to any justifications they may have provided for responding in the way that they did.

A number of class dissenters commented on the issue of poverty, however. The following was most typical of the comments of atypical manual respondents, about the statement, 'People complain too much about poverty'.

'Yes they do, people in Britain do not know what real poverty is'. [Male, SG4, Retired, age 69, council tenant, Labour].

No value judgements were made about unequal respondents 'deserving' their situation and no references were made to the efficacy of individual action. Evaluations were based on a comparison between the present and a 'bleaker' age when poverty was allegedly worse. The comments which were made by atypical manual respondents who commented on the issue of poverty involved a comparison of different situations rather than an appeal to social values which serve to justify poverty and inequality. Therefore, unlike typical non-manual respondents, the basis of their disagreement with the statement, 'People complain too much about poverty', was pragmatic and contingent rather than normative. There was nothing in these comments to suggest that atypical manual respondents regarded inequalities in welfare in a positive light and in the same way that typical non-manual respondents did. In other words, there is no reason to believe that any manual workers actually favour poverty.

It was surprising to learn that atypical non-manual respondents who commented on the issue of poverty were quite sympathetic to the poor. For instance, one objected:

> 'No, most people do not care enough about the poor'. [Female, SG2, Age 47, housewife, owner occupier, Conservative].

Benevolence rather than re-distribution was emphasized. Unlike manual respondents, therefore, atypical non-manual respondents did not express a belief in equality or state action. They simply cared!

How do people react to proposals for policies involving re-distribution? It will be recalled that there is an occupational class basis to evaluations of re-distribution. For instance, a large majority of manual respondents expressed agreement with the statement, 'The government should do more to help those living in poor housing conditions'. Most of those who remarked on the statement interpreted it as an argument for policies aimed at extending owner occupation. For instance, it was argued:

> 'Of course it should. That is the only way that some people can own their own homes'. [Male, SG3, Age 33, FT employment, council tenant, Alliance].

Constraints, lack of choice and the efficacy of government action were emphasized. Conversely, non-manual respondents who commented again tended to emphasize the efficacy of individual action in producing distribution outcomes. A typical remark objected:

> 'No, people who are living in poor housing conditions need to do more for themselves'. [Male, SG2, Age 32, FT employment, owner occupier, Conservative].

Again, there is an assumption that the quality of personal welfare results from the purposive action of the individual concerned. Inequalities were seen as resulting from personal inadequacies and as being amenable to amelioration through greater effort and initiative on the part of those most affected by such inequalities.

What about those respondents who were atypical in terms of their scores on the Likert items which dealt with inequalities? Did they also appeal to specific values or principles to justify their class responses? The following remark was typical of the comments which were made by atypical manual respondents about the statement', 'It is important that income and wealth be re-distributed in favour of the poor'.

> 'No, I don't think that re-distribution is necessary but I do think that things should be more equal in the first place'. [Male, SG4, Age 32, FT employment, council tenant, Labour].

Whilst not supporting a policy of outright re-distribution, atypical manual respondents who commented tended to emphasize the desirability of a fairer than present distribution of income and wealth. Greater equality was a preference of those manual respondents who disagreed with re-distribution.

Atypical non-manual respondents who commented on the issue of re-distribution agreed with it but only at the level of principle. For instance, a typical remark affirmed:

> 'Yes, but I don't see how you can do it. The fact is that people are different'. [Female, SG2, Housewife, age 33, owner occupier, Labour].

They stressed the lack of feasibility involved in such a policy. One respondent referred to it as 'unrealistic'. Generally, the comments of both typical and atypical non-manual respondents emphasized differences between people; in other words, inequalities resulting from differences in individual endowments are inevitable, irrespective of the desirability of re-distribution and equality. This sceptical support for the idea of re-distribution among atypical non-manual respondents who commented contrasts markedly with the unreserved support among typical manual respondents, already reported, for state intervention to affect the course of distribution, reflected in the quantitative responses to this particular Likert item. Redistribution is a class attitude.

In sum, class attitudes to inequalities, deprivation and policies aimed at attenuating inequalities and deprivation were justified by those respondents who remarked on the issue in terms of ideas about the level of causation and appropriate action.

Inequalities in housing and housing deprivation were explained by non-manual respondents in terms of individual capabilities and inadequacies. Manual respondents, on the other hand, tended to emphasize both the lack of choice and the constraints facing individual households in a poor housing situation. Lower income households have to take what they can get.

This ideological pattern was also reflected in comments which were made about proposals for policies aimed at attenuating inequalities and deprivation. Non-manual respondents were voluntarists in that they emphasized the power of individuals to direct events in their favour. Conversely, manual respondents stressed the enabling capacity of action at the level of government. This suggested that value-judgements which are made by people about welfare are filtered through the actual experience of life, and that people who have more control over their lives are likely to give more positive accounts of the scope of individual action while people with less control are more likely to respond with expressions of powerlessness. It seems that ideology reflects actually existing material life circumstances.

It was interesting to note comments which were made by atypical respondents about poverty and inequality, particularly those made by atypical non-manual respondents. They did not disagree with their typical non-manual counterparts in terms of their analyses of the causes of inequality and deprivation. Rather, they expressed concern that people did not care enough about the poor and they suggested in a half-hearted way that it would be a good idea if the government did something about it. Contrast this with the unreserved support which was indicated by the quantitative and the qualitative data expressed by manual workers for government action to attenuate inequalities.

Combined with the comments about inequalities in private welfare, this suggested that whereas manual workers will support equality and redistribution, non-manual workers who are concerned about poverty are more likely to favour policies aimed at instituting a mild dose of social justice.

It seems that respondents were amateur sociologists and their ideas centred on the analytical distinction between 'agency' and 'structure'. The preferred methods of analysis which were implicit in evaluations of welfare were associated with the occupational class background of respondents. Non-manual respondents were, in the main, individualists while manual respondents were structuralists.

iii) Public welfare.

How do people justify their preferences for spending on state provided welfare services? The comments which were made by respondents about a number of the issues involved suggested that the nature of such justifications depends on the area of welfare in question.

Consider attitudes to spending on state provided health care. It will be recalled from Chapter Six that spending on the NHS is an uncontentious area. The majority of respondents to the Plymouth survey expressed dissatisfaction with existing staffing levels and were opposed to cuts in public spending on the NHS. The following comments were typical of those remarks which were made by

respondents who accorded with positive evaluations of public expenditure on the NHS. Reference was made to both staffing levels:

> 'most doctors and nurses don't have enough time to do their jobs properly'. [SG2, Male, FT employment, age 36, owner occupier, Alliance],

and spending;

> 'Spending on the NHS should be trebled. Nowhere near enough money is spent on the NHS'. [SG4, Female, age 68, council tenant, Labour].

No particular distributional values such as 'justice' or 'equality' appeared to be implicated in the remarks which were made by respondents about the resourcing of the NHS. Rather, basic and practical financial consideration were stated. In addition, none of those respondents who favoured cuts in spending (27%) or who were happy with existing staffing levels (14%) commented on these issues. It isn't possible, therefore, to outline any justifications they may have provided for responding in such a way. These 'general' patterns in the data notwithstanding, important class differences were apparent in some of the responses which related to health, as indicated by some of the analyses which were presented in Chapter Six. The differences were reflected in some of the comments which were made by respondents about inequalities of consumption in the NHS. Non-manual respondents who commented on the statement 'Families on high incomes get too much out of the NHS tended to emphasize 'entitlement':

> 'Everyone is entitled to the NHS'. [SG2, Female, Housewife, Age 32, Owner occupier, Alliance].

> Why not, they pay more in taxes'. [SG2, Male, Work FT, Age 45, Conservative].

Conversely, manual respondents who commented felt middle class consumption in the NHS to be unfair and felt that they should make more of a financial contribution to the service.

> 'I suppose that some people could afford to pay more in taxes'. [SG4, Male, unemployed, Age 26, Council tenant, No PID].

This kind of sentiment was also reflected in a number of comments which were made by a number of manual respondents about

the statement 'Prescription charges should be increased for all'. For instance:

> 'No definitely not! They are too high already although the better off should pay more'. [Male, SG4, Retired, Age 69, Council tenant, Labour].

Opposition to prescription charges was affirmed but qualified by an appeal to justice in the way that a commonly consumed public good is financed. It was felt that the size of contributions to NHS revenues should reflect household incomes.

The general impression which was obtained was one which suggested that manual workers felt that higher income households get too much from the NHS as indicated by the quantitative responses that every household should be entitled to use the NHS but perhaps that such households could pay more through general taxation or direct charging. The notion of 'entitlement' therefore appeared to be a contingent one for manual respondents.

Public attitudes to spending on housing are sharply divided along occupational class lines, as indicated by the analyses which were presented in Chapter Six and in the previous section of this Chapter. Typical non-manual respondents were opposed to public housing subsidies for low income households whether directed at the public or the private sector. This was reflected in the comments that were made by a number of non-manual respondents. These respondents believed public sector housing rather than owner occupation to be the most appropriate form of housing for low income households. However, they didn't feel that more public money should be directed to this sector as suggested by both the previously reported quantitative and qualitative data.

> 'Council housing is for people who cannot afford to provide for themselves'. [SG1, Male, FT employment, 42, Owner occupier, Conservative],

but people in this situation ought;

> 'To do more for themselves'. [SG2, Female, Housewife, age 32, Owner occupier, Alliance].

Manual workers generally were in favour of more public spending on housing for low income families, with money being directed at both the public sector and at extending access to owner occupation. Those manual respondents who commented on the issues involved tended to emphasize both the constraints facing low income households in pursuit of their housing careers and the efficacy of government action in 'enabling' low income households to fulfill their housing aspirations.

In sum, public attitudes to spending on the public sector of housing provision can be regarded as a subset of attitudes to public spending on housing in general. Non-manual respondents were generally opposed to more public spending on housing for lower income households and this was justified by some of them on the grounds that such households could and should do more for themselves. Conversely, manual households favoured more public spending on housing for lower income households and this was justified by some of them on the grounds that purposive government action would be more efficacious in achieving fairer distribution of housing conditions. Occupational class divisions underpin attitudes to public spending on social security benefits, although the nature of these divisions varied according to the specific issue involved. Thus when it came to the idea of re-distribution, the principal division involved a distinction between manual and non-manual labour. However, where benefits for the unemployed were concerned the principal division which emerged in the data involved a distinction between households in occupational classes four and five and households who belonged to other occupational classes. Thus eighty one per-cent of respondents in the latter group agreed that 'People who receive social security benefits should be encouraged to work for them', compared to eleven per cent of respondents in the former group. An examination of the comments which were made by a number of respondents about the issue associated with work and welfare suggested that values which served as justifications for particular responses centered on the alleged link between benefit levels and the intensity of the work ethic. Respondents in occupational classes 3N and 3M who were typical and who commented tended to emphasize the 'disincentive' effects of social security

benefits. The following, for instance, assert that;

> 'if benefits were lower, people would have the incentive to look harder for work'. [SG2, age 42, Female houseperson, Owner occupier, No PID].
>
> 'Too many people take benefits rather than work'. [Male, SG3, age 69, retired, council tenant, labour].
>
> 'Yes, there is a lot of work around but many people who received benefits can't be bothered to take it'. [Male, SG2, Age 32, FT employment, owner occupier, Conservative].

The comments which were made by respondents in these occupational classes accorded with a supply side conception of the causes of and the solution to unemployment. Unemployment results from the disincentive effects of high benefit levels and can be reduced through restoring incentives by lowering subsistence levels for unemployed claimants.

The opposite was true of the comments which were made by respondents in occupational classes four and five who were typical. These minimized the importance of the link between benefit levels and the propensity to take work and by so doing made assumptions about unemployment which accorded with a demand side view of this phenomenon.

For instance, it was objected;

> 'Benefits for the unemployed are so low, I don't see how they could discourage people from working'. [SG4, age 23, Male, FT employment, council tenant, Labour.
> 'No, that doesn't sound right. Most people on social security would prefer to work if they could find a job'. [Male, SG4, Age 44, FT employment, Council tenant, Labour].
>
> 'Why should people be punished for not wanting to do a particular job'. [Female, SG4, age 36, housewife, council tenant, Labour].

Generally, the comments seemed to indicate that respondents who were sympathetic to benefits for the unemployed believed that benefits levels were so low they couldn't possible affect the propensity of recipients to look for work and that unemployment is not related to social security benefits levels anyway.

What does this tell us about public preferences for spending on social security benefits for the unemployed? First, the majority of respondents to the Plymouth survey were unsympathetic to benefits for the unemployed. Those who commented on their position justified it in terms of the 'disincentive' effects of benefit levels and the belief that unemployment results from these. Second, a minority of respondents to the Plymouth survey were sympathetic to social security benefits for the unemployed and most of them belonged to households in lower manual occupational classes. Those who commented on it justified their position in terms denying the link between benefit levels and unemployment.

To summarize, the values and ideas which were expressed in support of preferences for the public sector varied according to the area of welfare provision in question and the issues involved.

As expected, the comments which were made by both manual and non-manual respondents about general spending and resource issues in the NHS were very similar. They emphasized both inadequate staffing levels and insufficient funding. This generated the impression that the expression of values as justifications for self-interest may be more appropriate to situations where there is distributional conflict involving competing claims over relative shares. Values are related to positionality.

This was reflected to some extent in the comments which were made in reference to other aspects of NHS finance and expenditure. Manual respondents suggested that high income households should pay more for their use of the service, either through general taxation or direct charging. Non manual respondents disagreed arguing that the fact of paying taxes in itself justifies entitlement.

Class divisions were reflected in the comments which were made by respondents about spending on the public sector of housing provision. Although non-manual respondents favoured the existence of a public sector as being appropriate to meet the needs of low income households they did not want more spending. They felt that such households should do more for themselves. Manual respondents,

on the other hand, were enthusiastic about more state spending, emphasizing the value and efficacy of collective action as a basis for attenuating housing inequalities and deprivation.

Finally, the unemployed faired badly in terms of the content of the statements which were made about them. In terms of the quantitative responses, the majority of respondents in non-manual and skilled manual occupations favoured cuts in benefits as a means of restoring work incentives. Justifications advanced indicated that such respondents believed in the existence of a strong relationship between benefit levels and the propensity to seek work. In contrast, unskilled manual workers who commented seemed to be incredulous at the suggestion that benefit levels are too high. Again, it seems that perceptions are filtered through actual experiences.

iv) Occupational class and social justice.

The analyses indicated that ideas relating to social justice were well formed and salient in terms of the expectations and preferences of respondents and that these ideas were related to the occupational class location of the household, although this relationship appeared to vary according to the area of welfare involved.

For instance, occupational class did not appear to influence ideas about general spending on the NHS. The majority of respondents favoured this and the justifications provided by some of them referred to inadequate staffing levels and under-resourcing. The salience of this issue and the general support for spending on the NHS point to one of the reasons why the Thatcher government has been unable to apply its strident approach to pruning public expenditure in the context of health care.

However, occupational class appeared to be a major influence on the way that respondents commented on other issues in health care and on other areas of welfare provision. Respondents from different occupational class backgrounds advanced different versions of social justice and different criteria for the allocation of resources. These 'class antagonistic' ideas centred on areas of welfare where the distribution of resources in provision varies according to the social

category of the household consumer, that is to say, a situation where there are inequalities in welfare.

How can the qualitative evidence on distributional values be conceptualized? In some areas of debate about welfare, non-manual respondents subscribed to an individualist and libertarian view of social justice, where a just distribution of welfare results from the work, effort and the contribution of individuals. This moral approach:

> 'does not consider the world as a place in which bread falls from heaven, where the proper moral problem is one of dividing it, but as a place where individuals produce things of value and where each such thing appears not as common property, but as the property of a particular individual'. (Brennam and Friedman, 1981, p 27).

When explaining and justifying inequalities in income, housing and private welfare, non-manual respondents referred to inequalities in personal ability and effort. Similarly, when considering solutions to housing deprivation, the need for greater effort on the part of the disadvantaged was emphasized. For those who didn't make the grade, a residual and underfunded public sector of housing provision was an appropriate tenure. In this sense, the values of typical non-manual respondents accorded with the ideological structure of market liberal approaches to welfare.

In other ways they departed. For instance, non-manual respondents were generally in favour of high income households having access to state provided health care and housing subsidies. This was justified by some of them in terms of a suspiciously social democratic notion of 'entitlement'. Households who pay taxes to finance state provided services and subsidies are entitled to benefit from them. This illuminated arguments about the way in which participation in public services is alleged to foster altruism and a commitment to welfare on the part of users. Whose welfare were non-manual respondents committed to? The evidence suggests that it was their own. Non-manual households are committed to their participation in services and subsidies from which they derive a great deal of benefit, but there is nothing in the evidence to suggest that

they are particularly committed to the welfare of low income users of the same service.

Typical manual respondents subscribed to an egalitarian and collectivist version of social justice in terms of their explanations of inequality and deprivation and their comments on policies aimed at attenuating inequalities. This involved three sets of evaluations. First, 'fairness' was the most frequently invoked value in criticisms on inequalities in welfare. Second, inequalities and deprivation were explained in terms of external constraints and the absence of choice. Third, and following on from this, the 'enabling' capacity of government was emphasized in the context of policies aimed at attenuating inequalities. The evidence suggested that typical manual respondents were collectivists although it wasn't possible to say whether they belonged to the normative or instrumental varieties.

How just is the structure and distribution of welfare in contemporary Britain in terms of the values and expectations of non-manual and manual households? The evidence suggested that the distribution of welfare and particularly the direction in which it has been going in the last ten years was seen as just by typical non-manual respondents. This suggests that typical non-manual households are therefore unlikely to support political approaches to welfare which are based on appeals to equality and which propose a major re-direction of resources to lower income groups. The same applied to atypical non-manual households who, while concerned about the poor and deprived expressed a belief in the inevitability of inequality and only a mild commitment to anti-poverty policy.

For typical manual respondents, the distribution of welfare in the UK was seen as unjust because it is unequal and because it gives people no choice about the kind of welfare which is accessible to them. The quantitative and qualitative responses indicated that typical manual households will support equality and re-distribution but not for the unemployed. Expenditure on this category was favoured by households in occupational classes four and five only.

Section Two. Consumer participation in welfare; the status quo or transformation

Both recent proposals for change in welfare practice and actual legislation have focussed on the process of consumer participation in welfare and on ways in which the quality of this process can be enhanced. What is consumer participation and why has it assumed a position of greater importance in academic and parliamentary debates? The model of consumer participation which was utilized in this study involved a conceptual distinction between choice, voice and control (Taylor Gooby, 1986). These aspects were defined in Chapter Two. It was assumed that in practice, users of welfare services adopt one of three adaptations or responses to their perceptions of the quality of participation in the service; loyalty, exit or innovation.

The various assumptions which have been made by commentators about public dissatisfaction with the process of consumer participation in welfare and the imputed demand for exit, innovation, choice, voice and control were not in fact, generated by the findings of the social science research. They were merely the product of reflections on the course of political events. However, the results of the Plymouth survey which were reported in Chapter Six indicated that respondents were dissatisfied with certain aspects of the process of consumer participation in state welfare, although this varied according to the service and the issue in question. Furthermore, respondents expressed a preference for greater choice, voice, and control in services. These findings prompted a number of questions. What reasons or justifications did people have for expressing such preferences? What shape do expressions of loyalty take? Do respondents of different occupational class backgrounds offer different kinds of justifications and perceptions, as they did in relation to resource and distributional issues? These questions were addressed through an analysis of the comments which were made by respondents about the Likert items in the questionnaire which dealt with participation issues. The answers which were generated by this exercise were not as comprehensive as they might have been. This resulted from two factors. First, respondents did not comment on participation in welfare to the same extent as they commented on

resource and distributional issues. Twenty one respondents commented on the items which dealt with participation issues and ten did so more than once. This compares unfavourably with response rates for resource and distributional issues. Second, the quality of this data was not as good. By this I mean that some of the responses were not very enthusiastic and it sometimes appeared as if comments were being made about issues which respondents had never given any consideration and perhaps never would. Thus some of the comments were merely vague mutterings of assent or dissent. This suggested that the issue of consumer participation was not as salient as other issues. In other words, it suggested that consumer participation in welfare as an issue does not have the same kind of political significance as resource and distributional issues.

i) Satisfaction with public welfare.

Satisfaction with and public perceptions of public welfare varied according to the area of welfare and the issues involved. In terms of the quantitative responses, public satisfaction was at it highest level for the NHS although a majority of respondents were dissatisfied. In contrast, a larger majority of respondents responded in a negative way to statements which dealt with the quality of the service provided in the social security system and public sector housing.

It will be recalled, from Chapter Six, that a majority of respondents were dissatisfied with the service provided by the NHS. The following were typical comments on the statement, 'NHS hospitals have a high standard of service'.

> 'Generally, yes. The private sector could never match it if they had the same volume of patients'. [Male, SG3, age 29, self-employed, owner occupier, alliance].

> 'Nurses do the best job they can, under difficult circumstances. If they were lazy, then people would have cause to complain'. [Female, SG2, FT employment, Age 51, owner occupier, Labour].

It is interesting to note that the NHS is defended by people who experience the services it provides as unsatisfactory.

Perceptions of public sector housing were not so favourable. A large majority of respondents (72%) disagreed with the statement 'Council estates are pleasant places to live in'. No significant class differences in the responses were generated by crosstabulating this data with occupational class. Moreover all of the comments which were made by respondents about this statement were critical of public sector housing. The following were typical:

> 'Well, the houses are reasonable but the people aren't easy to live with'. [SG4, Age 43, Male, FT employment, council tenant, Labour].

> 'No, council estates leave a lot to be desired and so do most of the tenants'. [SG2, Age 47, Female, housewife, owner occupier, Conservative].

In fact, it wasn't the quality of the housing or the service provided by local authorities which respondents were critical of but the tenants themselves. This perception transcended boundaries of class and tenure. It also reinforces Saunders findings on stigma and public sector housing (1990, p 330). It is, perhaps, understandable that non-manual respondents should have remarked on council tenants in this way. After all, they didn't appear to have a lot of regard for low income families generally, and they were opposed to government spending on housing for such families.

It was surprising to learn that council tenants who commented regarded other council tenants in an unfavourable light. However, the nature of these comments goes someway to explaining why there is a constituency for exit among council tenants and manual workers, indicated by the popularity of this government's 'right to buy' policy (Jacobs, 1982). Council tenants want to distance themselves from other council tenants. The constituency for exit may therefore have an ideological reference point rather than one which is related to practical aspects of participation in public sector housing. Although the majority of council tenants did not believe that council estates are pleasant places to live in, the comments which were made by some of them about this did not indicate that ideas about participation were a well formed and coherent basis for criticism. The evidence which has been reviewed suggests that the popularity of the exit option among

manual households is based on financial considerations and on perceptions of stigma which is associated with public sector housing.

Likewise, a large majority of respondents, sixty three per cent in fact, disagreed with the statement 'the way in which the social security system is run is satisfactory' and again there were no significant class differences in these responses. None of the non-manual respondents who were interviewed commented on this issue. This is not, perhaps, surprising as very few of them had had any substantial experience of the social security system. However, those manual workers who commented expressed negative evaluations of the process in which claimants are involved. The following remarks were typical.

> 'Satisfactory to the government, not to the claimants'. [SG4, female, age 28, housewife, council tenant, Labour].

> 'Faceless bureaucrats run in the government's interest'. [Male, SG4, Age 43, FT employment, council tenant, Labour].

Clearly, there were no illusions as to whose interests the practical administration of social security is intended to serve. These comments indicated that ideas about participation do provide a well-formed basis for negative evaluations of the service provided by the social security system.

To summarize, ideas about the experience of consumption were not well developed in the perceptions of respondents. The nature of these ideas expressed in the comments which were analyzed varied according to the area of welfare in question. Loyalty was more evident where the NHS was concerned. Conversely, perceptions of the experience of consumption in public sector housing and the social security system were negative. Ideology appeared to play a major role in perceptions of the experience of consumption in council housing. Tenants were stigmatized in as much as they were referred to in a negative light. Ideas about the actual process of participation were underdeveloped. For instance, respondents who were themselves tenants did not refer to aspects of this process such as the design of estates, facilities or maintenance and repairs. Loyalty

was low among council tenants and this appeared to result from a negative evaluation of other tenants rather than dissatisfaction with the actual process of consumption.

Similarly, the majority of respondents evaluated the social security system in a negative light but this did appear to result from perceptions of the process of participation. Accusations of remoteness indicated that ideas about the process of participation in social security were fairly well developed.

ii) Choice in public welfare.

How important is the concept of choice to people's expectations and evaluations of welfare? In order to answer this question, respondents were presented with two Likert items which related to choice in state provided health care and housing. The pattern of responses which was reported in Chapter Six, suggested that a large majority of respondents favoured choice in welfare. However, the frequency and the nature of the comments which were made by respondents varied according to the area of welfare.

For instance, very few respondents commented on the issue of choice in the NHS and those remarks which were available for analysis were of little interest in terms of any light they might have thrown on the way in which people understand the issue of choice in health care. This suggested that ideas about choice in health care are not well formed and salient among users of the NHS. In other words, choice is unlikely to be as important an issue as the level and pattern of expenditure on health care.

Conversely, a larger number of comments were made in response to the statement 'Council housing would be more desirable if people had more choice about the sort of housing they could get'. It would be recalled that a majority of respondents agreed with this statement. However, strong class differences were manifest in the comments which were made by a number of respondents. Non-manual respondents who commented were eager to stress that the extension of choice in public housing isn't a necessary or desirable thing.

'We must not lose sight of the fact that it is provided as a basic need, not a luxury item. The private sector provides that'. [SG2, Female, Housewife, owner occupier, Labour].

This accords with the comments which were reported in the previous section and which presented public sector housing as a no frills attached welfare tenure for a certain class of people.

Conversely, manual workers who commented were sympathetic to the idea of choice in public housing but tended to emphasize the resource constraints which inhibit the exercise of choice.

'Yes, that's obvious, but there isn't enough of it to give people more choice'. [SG4, Male, Age 41, FT employment, council tenant, Labour].

This indicated the existence of sentiment which favours innovation in public sector housing but suggests that the level of provision is a more salient issue in the minds of manual workers.

In sum, choice did not appear to be a particularly salient issue in the context of health care. The majority of respondents responded favourably to the idea of choice in the NHS but were unable or unwilling to articulate an understanding of what this means.

Again, the majority of respondents responded positively to the suggestion that the extension of choice would make public sector housing more desirable but the comments which were made by non-manual respondents indicated that they regarded this as an unimportant issue. Manual workers, on the other hand, felt choice to be of importance but tended to prioritise the level of provision.

iii) Voice in public welfare.

How important is the concept of voice in people's ideas about public welfare? Again, the frequency and the nature of the comments which were made by respondents did not match the apparent enthusiasm which was indicated by the quantitative responses. However, this general pattern varied by service and a modest interest in voice in relation to health care was indicated by the comments

which were made in response to the statement 'the NHS is something that people don't feel involved in'. The following were typical.

> 'You can talk to ward staff but they are unable to carry to higher levels with enough backing'. [Male, SG4, retired, age 68, council tenant, Labour].

> 'Yes, I suppose so, but that is probably because they are overworked. They don't have time to listen to patients'. [Male, SG2, Age 56, full time employment, owner occupier, Labour].

Charges of remoteness, inflexibility and lack of communication emerged in the comments but respondents were eager to locate the blame for these problems at the centre of decision making in the NHS. Frontline medical personnel were overworked and powerless and so could not be held to account for the lack of voice experienced by consumers. This interest in voice suggested that innovation as a value was modestly developed in terms of the expectations and preferences of respondents, although again, a certain amount of loyalty was apparent. No meaningful comments were made about voice in state provided housing and social security.

iv) Control in public welfare.

Although the quantitative responses indicated that respondents were sympathetic to the idea of greater consumer control in public welfare, they were remarkably unwilling or unable to articulate their views on this issue in the context of health-care and social security provision. Control in these two areas was not a salient or well developed concept. Control in public sector housing was more salient and this appeared to be related to the effect of occupational class differences. It will be recalled that such differences were evident in the quantitative responses to the statement, 'it is very important that council tenants have more control over the way their estates are managed'. A large majority of non-manual respondents disagreed and those who commented appeared to emphasize what they considered to be the low moral and intellectual integrity of council tenants.

> 'If they were able and interested and had half a brain. Most don't and that is why they are council tenants'. [SG2, Male, Age 36, self employed, owner occupier, Alliance].

They simply weren't capable of exercising such control! This fits with the views on council tenants which were expounded by non-manual workers and which were reviewed earlier.

Manual workers who commented simply asserted the right of council tenants to exercise greater control.

> 'Yes of course. We have to live in these places'. [SG4, Female, Age 28, housewife, housing association, Labour].

An awareness of control and a desire of innovation appeared to be modestly developed in terms of the perceptions and expectations of manual respondents who commented.

In sum, the desire to exercise control in public services as a value was generally underdeveloped in terms of the perceptions of respondents. The issue of consumer control did not appear to be that salient. Control in council housing as an object of evaluation was an exception in that respondents expressed views on the issue. These views reflected occupational class differences in the quantitative results. Innovation as a value was expressed in the comments which were made by manual respondents. Conversely, non-manual respondents objected, advancing a stigmatized view of council tenants. By this stage of the analysis, such a finding was not unexpected.

v) Participation and the politics of welfare.

The evidence from the survey did not indicate that public ideas about consumer participation in state welfare provision accord with or confirm the arguments and platforms which have been advanced by academics and politicians. In this respect, it is possible to make two points based on the data which have been reported.

First, the issue of consumer participation in public welfare is not as important to the general public as it has assumed to be by recent commentaries on social welfare. The infrequency and general poor quality of the comments which were made by respondents on aspects of participation suggested that their ideas on this issue were not well developed or particularly coherent. This suggests that participation

as an issue is not salient in terms of public preferences and expectations for welfare. It seems unlikely, therefore, that ideas about participation will have provided a strong basis for voting behaviour during the decade of Thatcherism.

Second, the extent to which occupational class was related to ideas about participation in welfare varied according to the area of provision in question.

Class was unrelated to ideas about participation in the NHS. These ideas favoured Labour rather than Conservative Party policy on this issues. The evidence suggested that public 'loyalty' to the NHS in its present form was evident even among those respondents who were dissatisfied. Ideas about choice in health care were not particularly developed, indicating that it is not a salient issue for voters. In the light of this, the government's proposed health service reforms may be misconceived insofar as they are ostensibly aimed at extending choice to users of the NHS.

On the other hand, there was a modest interest in the concept of voice. Some of the comments which dealt with the contact that patients have with frontline medical personnel referred to the remoteness and the lack of attention involved in this experience. However, the blame for this was seen as lying at the centre of power and decision making in the NHS. Perceptions therefore appeared to favour Labour's proposals for the establishment of democratic structures, but only insofar as this would enhance the voice of consumers in the service. Control was not an important issue.

Occupational class differences were apparent in the quantitative data which related to choice and control in public sector housing and these differences were reflected in the comments which were made by respondents about these issues. Predictably, non-manual respondents did not favour the extension of choice and control to council tenants. Their objections were justified on the grounds that this tenure is a basic no frills attached need item and that anyway, council tenants do not have the gumption to exercise greater control in their housing affairs. 'That is why they are council tenants'. Manual respondents

were in favour of more choice and control for council tenants, and their comments suggested that 'innovation' would be acceptable. However, it seems that council housing is a stigmatized tenure, among both manual and non-manual respondents, who made uncharitable comments about public sector tenants. It might be, therefore, that owner occupation rather than innovation would be a preferred alternative to the lack of choice and control experienced by public sector tenants, particularly since manual respondents were conscious of the financial advantages associated with owner occupation.

CONCLUSION

The analyses which have been presented in this chapter enable three points to be made about the importance that people attach to issues in social welfare and the values which they associate with these issues, and which they use to justify their own interests. First, the methodological value of analysing the unprompted comments which were made by respondents on various issues has been confirmed. The quantitative results which were reviewed in Chapter Six suggested that both resource and participation issues were important in terms of public attitudes, but provided no indication of their relative importance. The higher frequency and the relative quality of the comments which were made about resource and distributional issues suggested that they were more important to respondents.

Second, and because of this, these issues are more important in terms of the practical politics of welfare. It seems, therefore, that there has been an over-emphasis on the importance of participation in welfare to voters in recent commentaries on welfare. In terms of the expectations of the general public, social welfare is, in the first instance an issue of consumption.

Third, the relationship between occupational class and ideas about welfare varied according to the area of welfare in question. Class differences did not emerge in comments which were made about the NHS, for instance. These comments indicated that respondents were dissatisfied with the quality of service provided by the NHS, although they favoured more expenditure on this service. However, there is no reason to believe, as Titmuss did, that universal support for the NHS is founded on altruistic impulses or some commitment to welfare which are engendered by a common participation in the service. Such participation does not foster an altruism which overrides and attenuates class differences in interests and perceptions. The evidence indicates that non-manual households support the NHS simply because they derive a great deal of benefit from it. This was indicated by the selfish and interest bound comments which were made about other issues.

Class interests emerged more clearly in relation to other areas of welfare, although they were expressed in terms of commonly accepted values such as rights, desserts, fairness and equality. Non-manual respondents subscribed to different values according to the area of welfare concerned. For instance, their comments accorded with a Titmussion version of 'entitlement' when commenting on areas of state welfare provision from which high income households benefit, areas such as health-care and housing subsidies. Conversely, they emphasized desserts and individual inequalities in their remarks about inequalities in welfare. Non-manual respondents therefore justified their interests in relation to welfare, not in terms of one consistent ideological structure, but in terms of values which are associated with different and apparently irreconcilable welfare ideologies. This inconsistency at the level of values reflects the distribution of resources and the pattern of welfare provision in the UK, which intersect to generate patterns of self-interest and associated ideas about welfare. In other words, material interests generate values.

Non-manual households are likely to be the staunchest defenders of the status quo in welfare provision. In general, the possibility of harnessing the political support of such households to programmes of social justice based on equality and re-distribution appears to be remote, although the possibility that a proportion of non-manual households will favour such programmes cannot be ruled out.

However, it isn't necessary to concur with Taylor Gooby's assertion that:

> 'for those who are concerned to achieve a re-direction of welfare to meet human needs rather than buttress ... class privilege ... the task is bleak' (1985, p 142).

The analysis which has been presented in this chapter points to the existence of a reservoir of support for policies based on the ideals of equality and re-distribution among manual households. This confirms what was demonstrated by the analyses of local voting behaviour which were presented in Chapter Four. It also reinforces at the level of attitudes to welfare what Marshall and his colleagues have demonstrated in terms of class consciousness, voting behaviour

and social mobility rates. Class is central to social identity (1988, p 267) and the most significant cleavage divides manual from non-manual households.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CLASS, CITIZENSHIP AND WELFARE

Which lines of social cleavage are most significantly associated with public attitudes to welfare? As indicated in Chapter Two there are two basic approaches to explaining this aspect of social formation in contemporary Britain, one emphasising the household and consumption and the other emphasising divisions which are generated at the level of production. The two correspond to the concepts of citizenship and class.

Those who emphasise citizenship argue that the fundamental line of cleavage which defines the social structure of the UK divides the affluent majority who are able to participate in the normal activities of a society from a minority who are excluded. Conversely, those who emphasise the significance of class insist that social and political attitudes correspond to interests which are generated through work.

These concerns were investigated through an quantitative analysis of some of the data which was generated by the Plymouth survey . Two procedures, in particular, were used to disentangle the inter-relationships between occupational class, social class, consumption sector, employment status and public attitudes to inequalities and participation in welfare. First, the analyses were set in motion by generating three way contingency tables involving combinations of these variables. The significance of the independent variables in terms of their relative contributions to the structure of the attitudinal data was assessed by using a technique known as the Effect Change Design (Hellevik, 1984, Byrne, 1985). The analyses were then developed through a series of Logit Models. The Logit procedure is a variant of Loglinear modelling which is used in a situation where it is possible to specify the causal ordering of the variables (Gilbert, 1981, Norusis, 1984, Kendrick, 1988). In this it is similar to multiple regression but it is more appropriate to the analysis of categorical dependent variables.

Both techniques were used in a way which was mutually reinforcing. For instance, the contingency table analyses revealed particular patterns in the data which were assessed for significance in the Logit models. This was a useful exercise in that it allowed a greater level of confidence to be attached to the resultant generalizations about the relationship between the social structure and public attitudes to welfare.

In Section One, the concerns which informed the analyses are specified in some detail. The way in which these concerns were operationalized for the analyses is explained in Section Two in order to facilitate interpretation of the results. Section Three reports the results of the contingency table analyses while Section Four reports the results of the Logit analyses.

These results support the view that 'work situation' remains the primary basis upon which public attitudes to welfare are constituted. Furthermore, a cleavage based on a distinction between manual and non-manual labour appeared to have the greatest significance in terms of its' relationship to these attitudes. However, Wright's social class scheme was also a good predictor of attitudes. Employment status was unimportant whilst consumption sector had a modest influence on manual working class attitudes to inequalities in welfare. In other words, it was class and not citizenship based on access to private welfare which generated clear and well defined patterns in the attitudinal data.

Section One. The Concerns

At a general level, the purpose of this chapter is to assess the relative importance of a number of independent variables to the process of explaining public attitudes to welfare. These variables are defined in the context of different sociological approaches to the study of the social structure of the UK.

First, they can be understood in terms of workplace divisions and these can be theorized as occupational or social class. This cleavage, which is generated at the level of production, is understood to be the central organizing principle of society and is advanced to explain factors which are outside the sphere of production; factors such as wealth (Miliband, 1973), income (Westergaard and Resler, 1975), housing (Ginsburg, 1979) health (Townsend, 1981, Whitehead, 1987) and social and political attitudes (Mann, 1983, Wright, 1985). When a particular scheme fails adequately to explain social phenomena, the response usually involves a search for a better way for constructing class at a theoretical and empirical level. This accounts for much of the debate between Marxists and Weberians and within these approaches about the relative strengths of class classification schemata.

An alternative approach is to be found in the work of those writers who, perceiving that class classification schemes often fail fully to explain social phenomena, focus on divisions which operate at the level of consumption, although they may be initially generated by income inequalities which result from work opportunities. A central aspect of this approach is the distinction between exclusion/inclusion, a distinction which rests on the assumption that 'citizenship' results from being able to participate in activities which are considered to be normal in advanced societies. Household income levels either permit or inhibit participation and generate a situation whereby society is divided between a comfortable majority and an excluded minority. State social policies also play a role in this process (Papadikis and Taylor-Gooby, 1987). Terms of description for this minority include 'underclass' (Dahrendorf, 1987) 'the work starved' (Pahl, 1984) and 'state dependents' (Saunders, 1990). Households which fall on either

side of the exclusion, inclusion demarcation line are said to be homogeneous in terms of their consumption characteristics and political affiliations. Thus consumption based cleavages cut across class divisions and are said to be the primary determinant of social identities.

It has already been demonstrated in this thesis that occupational class based on the RG scheme is strongly related to public attitudes on social and political issues. The RG scheme may be weak at a conceptual level but it is empirically strong. However, it has been noted that there is a 'looser fit' between the centre ground of the occupational class structure and social and political attitudes. For instance, the ideological propensities of voters in classes 3N and 3M accord with the manual/non-manual distinction but not to the same extent as those of voters at the poles of the occupational class structure. The responses to this particular empirical weakness accord with the two approaches to the study of social structure outlined above. These are i) re-work class or ii) look outside of the sphere of production for factors which shape social consciousness.

The specific issues which are addressed and explored in terms of the Plymouth survey data are as follows. First, how important is the notion of consumption sector to the process of explaining public attitudes to welfare? In effect, two distinct questions are being posed here. The first question is concerned with the relative importance of 'class' and 'consumption' sector as variables which are implicated in the pattern of welfare attitudes. Saunders, in particular, believed that a social cleavage based on consumption has superseded class as the principal defining characteristic of social stratification in the UK. In his conception, collective consumption is seen as a phase of transition between wholly market based provision and privatised consumption. For Saunders, the essential social cleavage in the UK is one which divides the affluent majority who have access to private forms of welfare such as owner occupation from those who are more or less dependent on the state for welfare. This cleavage operates independently of processes which are linked to occupational or social class. The political implications of this are developed through the suggestion that privatised owner occupied

households are unlikely to support 'collective' political solutions to social problems. If this is correct, then the observer would expect to find that the 'independent' effect of consumption based cleavages is greater than the effect of class at the level of empirical analysis.

The second question assumes that social or occupational class is of considerable importance in shaping social identity and social and political attitudes but is concerned with the extent to which consumption sector has modified the traditional pattern of class politics in the UK. Dunleavy, in particular, maintains that class is the principal factor which defines the electoral bases of the political parties in the UK but suggests that the extension of privatised modes of consumption in specific areas of social welfare has served to modify the relationship between class and voting. Voters can be assigned public or private consumption sectoral locations according to the extent to which they are involved in privatised modes of consumption in welfare. Defined in this way, consumption sector appears to be strongly related to voting behaviour. However, Dunleavy points out that consumption sector itself is partially dependent on social or occupational class. Class influences public attitudes to welfare directly and indirectly through consumption sector. However part of the consumption effect is independent. The question is, how much and in what way?

Second, to what extent is a cleavage based on access to work opportunities related to attitudes to welfare? It will be recalled from Chapter two that this cleavage involves a distinction between the 'middle-mass' who have access to well paid secure employment and the 'underclass' who are work starved.

As with consumption sector, the political implications of a cleavage based on a division between middle mass and underclass involve a process in which the comfortable majority are increasingly satisfied with their position and unlikely to support collective political solutions to social problems. If Pahl's thesis is correct, therefore, one would expect this social cleavage to have a greater influence than class on attitudes to welfare at the level of empirical analysis.

Third, what kind of class scheme is appropriate for exploring these relationships? The Register General's scheme, which is still commonly applied in British sociological studies, has been criticized by Marxists and neo-Weberians alike on two grounds; these are i) it lacks an adequate theoretical base and ii) it is not a appropriate device to study the British class structure which has changed substantially over the course of the post-war period. For instance, a number of Marxist writers would argue that an alleged 'loose-fit' between class (measured in terms of the RG's scheme) and voting behaviour results not so much from the declining influence of class in British society and politics, as Saunders, Dunleavy and Pahl have argued, but from the failure of the scheme itself to adequately measure class. Rather than look for the influence of extraneous factors such as consumption, therefore, writers such as Wright have directed even greater energy into theorizing and investigating the way in which the class structure of advanced capitalist societies translates into class alliances in the social formation. Wright's latest scheme was applied in the analysis which is presented in this chapter in addition to the RG scheme, with a view to assessing the relative merits of both in explaining public attitudes to welfare in the UK.

Section Two. The variables

It is necessary, at this stage, to explain how certain theoretical constructs were represented in the analyses in order to facilitate interpretation of the results which are presented in this chapter.

Ten variables were used in the analyses of which six were dependent and four independent. Three of these predictor variables were used in the form of dichotomies and for two reasons. First, it is much easier to understand the logic of the techniques of elaboration and loglinear analysis in terms of dichotomous variables. Quite simply, the processes involved become much more manageable when the number of cells in a contingency table are kept to a minimum. Second, the results of loglinear analysis are sensitive to the number of categories which constitute variables (Kendrick, 1988). The four independent variables are as follows:

i) Occupational class. This variable is derived from the Registrar General's occupational class classification scheme. In spite of its frequently advertised shortcomings, the scheme does allow a straightforward classification of respondents into manual and non-manual households. It is therefore an appropriate device with which to interrogate the claims of those who assert that social and political attitudes can no longer be understood primarily in terms of the distinction between manual and non-manual labour.

ii) Social class. This construct was represented in the analysis by Wright's 1985 formulation. It will be recalled that this classification scheme is constituted by twelve distinct categories which were generated by intersecting three theoretical dimensions of social class; ownership of the means of production, organization assets and skills credential assets. This scheme was collapsed into three categories for the analysis in a way which accorded with Wright's main theoretical concern which was to provide lines of demarcation between capitalists, individuals who occupy contradictory class locations and workers. Thus proletarians, and uncredentialled supervisors and semi-credentialled workers (who Wright regarded as marginal

proletarians) all become 'workers'. This phrase is preferable to the cumbersome phrases that continental philosophers have used to describe the working class. Similarly, the bourgeoisie, small employers and the petite bourgeoisie become 'the ruling class'. The remaining categories of the classification scheme were collapsed into one which was described as 'contradictory class locations'. This new coding scheme is presented in Figure Eight below.

Figure Eight. The reclassification of social class

1) Bourgeoisie	4) Expert-managers	8) semi-credentialled supervisors	9) semi credentialled workers
2) Small employers	5) Expert supervisors		
3) Petite bourgeoisie	6) Expert non-managers	10) uncredentialled	11) Uncredentialled supervisors
	7) Semi-credentialled managers		12) Proletarians

Ruling Class	contradictory class locations	Workers

iii) Consumption sector. The classification of this variable involved a straightforward distinction between public and private consumption sectoral locations.

iv) Polarization. Polarization, involving a distinction between the 'middle mass' and the 'underclass' is a difficult concept to operationalize, as Pahl acknowledges, owing to the multi-faceted nature of the processes which are involved in household work strategies on the one hand and household consumption on the other. However, polarization in the UK has been considerably accentuated by the unemployment which has resulted from the relative decline of British industry and ten years of monetarist economic policy. Employment status, involving a distinction between the economically active who are seeking work (the unemployed) and the rest of the population may therefore provide a useful but imperfect approximation of Pahl's middle-mass/underclass distinction. This imperfection results

from the fact that the two are not identical. However, the analysis of local social and economic trends which was presented in Chapter four demonstrated that unemployment is very closely associated with other forms of social deprivation such as poor housing conditions, poverty and ill-health. Furthermore, the evidence of Pahl's 1985 study itself indicates that there is a qualitative difference in household consumption patterns and household work opportunities between households with an unemployed main wage-earner and the rest of the population. Thus Pahl writes:

> 'the Sheppey survey showed that when the male breadwinner was unemployed, he was likely to do less work in and around the home; there was less self provisioning; there were fewer consumer durables and the domestic division of labour was more traditional. Clearly, for the unemployed, domesticity implied a different set of values. Hence there is a kind of polarization in domestic values between multiple earner households and those based on an unemployed breadwinner'. (Pahl, and Wallace, 1985, p 144).

The six dependent variables, which were attitude statements taken from the Likert scales, were selected because they all had common properties in that they referred to a particular aspect of social welfare. These statements, three of which are concerned with the expenditure dimension of welfare provision and three of which refer to the consumer participation dimension, will be referred to in the text as ATT1 to ATT6 for the sake of convenience. They were categorized in the following way.

i) Public attitudes to inequalities in welfare. Inequalities in welfare were chosen to represent the expenditure dimension because they are, perhaps, the central issue in the practical politics of the welfare state and in the study of social administration. Furthermore, the analyses which have so far been reported in this thesis have indicated that attitudinal cleavages are more likely to emerge in evaluations of inequalities in welfare.

   a) ATT1. 'People complain too much about homelessness and bad housing conditions';

   b) ATT2. 'People complain too much about poverty';

   c) ATT3. 'Families on high incomes get too much out of the NHS.

ii) Public attitudes to 'voice' in welfare. This was represented by the following statements:

a) ATT4. 'The NHS has a fair complaints procedure';

b) ATT5. 'The social security system has a fair complaints procedure';

c) ATT6. 'People who rent their homes complain too much about their landlords';

Whilst ATT6 is not totally compatible with ATT4 and ATT5, it was the most appropriate to use out of the pool of items concerned with housing in that it was the only one concerned with 'complaints'.

Section Three. Contingency table analysis

It was not sufficient to investigate the concerns of this chapter through a series of bivariate analysis since the independent variables were all significantly associated with responses to a range of Likert items. This is indicated by the data which is presented in Table Fifty Six. The first two data columns of this table contain the percentages of respondents in the categories of each of the independent variables who agreed with ATT1. The third data column contains the percentage difference and the fifth contains the Gamma which was generated by crosstabulating each of the independent variables with responses to ATT1. The Gamma is a co-efficient or a numerical summary of the degree of association between two variables. In this, it is similar to the Pearsons product moment correlation co-efficient. However, the statistical procedure which is used to generate it is more appropriate for the analysis of data which does not achieve an interval level of measurement.

In analytical terms, the data which are presented in Table Fifty Six would have the effect of confirming all of the hypotheses that were reviewed in Section One of this chapter. Accordingly, simple bivariate analyses are not sufficient to enable an evaluation of the relative significance of the independent variables in generating attitudinal variation. However, it is possible to accomplish such an evaluation through an analysis of the results of three way contingency tables.

i) Occupational class, consumption sector and attitudes to welfare. The purpose of evaluating three-way cross-tabulations is to assess the extent to which the apparent effect of one independent variable in a bivariate relationship can be explained partly or wholly in terms of another. Analysis of three way cross-tabulations is necessary when the cases for two or more independent variables in a data set co-vary.

This can be illustrated by returning to the debate about the relative importance of alternative lines of social cleavage in generating attitudinal variation. Saunders has argued that

consumption cleavages based on private welfare generate attitudinal variation in a way which is wholly independent of class effects. However, if it can be established that all or a part of Saunders consumption effect is in fact an artefact of the class effect, the validity of his argument would be open to serious doubt. This kind of assessment is the purpose of elaboration, a convenient term of description for the process of analyzing three way contingency tables. This process can be illustrated through an examination of the data which is presented in Table Fifty Seven. Two statistical relationships are presented in this table. Step one presents two bivariate relations involving occupational class and consumption sector as independent variables and ATT1 as the dependent variable. Step Two presents some of the results of a three way cross-tabulation of these variables. The second data column in step two of Table Fifty Seven contains the percentages of respondents in each of the independent variable categories who agreed with ATT1, and who therefore agreed with one particular aspect of inequalities in housing. These are percentages of the numbers that are also presented in each row. In the first row of step one, for example, fifty eight per cent of sixty nine non-manual respondents expressed agreement with ATT1.

The bivariate class effect was stronger than the bivariate consumption sector effect. This is indicated by the figures that are presented in the last two columns of step one in Table Fifty Seven. These figures were generated by subtracting the manual percentage response of seven from the non-manual percentage response of fifty eight and by subtracting the public consumption percentage response of eleven from the private consumption percentage response of forty four. In simple bivariate terms, the difference between these figures does not support Saunders' claim that household consumption is of equal or greater importance than household class in generating vertical divisions between households and therefore in generating attitudinal variation among members of different households. However, the bivariate consumption effect does support the view

that consumption sector is significantly associated with attitudinal variation. In view of this the central issue is concerned with the extent to which this association operates independently of occupational class.

This possibility was explored through an analysis of the results which are presented in step two of Table Fifty Seven. The logic of this analysis involved two assumptions. First, minimal differences in response percentages between private and public consumption sectoral locations within the two occupational class groups indicate that it is occupational class which is of the greatest significance in generating attitudinal variation. Second, minimal differences between specific consumption sectoral locations across the two occupational class locations indicate that it is consumption sector which is generating the principal effect. The relative significance of class and consumption effects in the three way cross-tabulation is represented numerically by the figures which are presented in the last two columns of step two in Table Fifty Seven. The two figures in the first of these columns were produced by subtracting the manual private sector percentage response of eight from the non-manual private sector percentage response of sixty one and by subtracting the manual public sector percentage response of six from the non-manual public sector percentage response of fifty. The two figures in the second of these columns were produced by subtracting the non-manual consumption percentage response of fifty from the non-manual private sector percentage non-manual private sector percentage response of sixty one and by subtracting the manual public sector percentage response of six from the manual private sector percentage response of eight.

A quick glance at the percentages in column two of step two in Table Fifty Seven indicates that the independent variable consumption sector polarized responses within the two occupational class categories. However, the significance of this intervening influence was limited. This is indicated by the figures in the last two columns of step two. The figures in the

penultimate column represent the effect of occupational class when the effect of private and public consumption sectoral locations were controlled for. These two figures can be compard to the figure which represents the class effect in the bivariate association. A similarity in the magnitude of these figures would indicate that the significance of the intervening influence of public and private consumption sectoral locations is limited. In fact, this is precisely what these figures do indicate. Occupational class generated significant variation in responses to ATT1 and this significance was sustained during the analysis of responses when the influence of consumption sector was controlled for.

It is also interesting to note that the intervening influence of public consumption sectoral locations was of greater significance than the influence of private consumption. Thus the bivariate class effect of fifty one dropped to forty six when the influence of public consumption was controlled for. The figures in the last data column of step two are a numerical representation of the consumption effect when manual and non-manual class locations are controlled for, and when they are compared to the figure which represents the bivariate effect in the same column it can be seen that the consumption effect declined considerably as a result of introducing a second independent variable, occupational class. However, the consumption effect remained stronger among non-manual respondents as indicate by a figure of eleven compared to a figure of two for manual respondents. Thus the most significant pattern which emerged from the exercise of cross-tabulating two independent variables, occupational class and consumption sector, with responses to ATT1 involved non-manual respondents in public sectoral locations. The fact of being involved in a public consumption sectoral location exerted a radical influence on the responses of non-manual respondents although the validity of this observation is open to question as there were only four such respondents. Conversely, the variation between manual respondents who were asigned public and private sectoral

locations was minimal, although the fact of belonging to a private consumption sectoral location did appear to exert a small conservative influence in responses to ATT1. This was subsequently evaluated through the results of fitting a series of Logit models to the data and found to be modestly significant. These results are presented in Section Four below.

How significant are occupational class and consumption sector in generating variation in attitudes to inequalities in income and health? The pattern of responses to ATT2 when cross-tabulated with these independent variables was identical to the structure of the data which was presented in Table Fifty Seven. The results of a three way cross-tabulation of occupational class, consumption sector and responses to ATT2 are presented in Table Sixty Eight and this can be found in Appendix A. Again, these results enable two observations to be made about the relationship between the three variables. First, the most significant consumption effect involves non-manual respondents in public consumption sectoral locations. The specific nature of the attitudinal effect was radical in that such respondents were considerably less likely to express agreement with poverty than non-manual respondents involved in private sector locations. However, the validity of this observation is open to question, as already noted, owing to the exceptionally small number in the former group of respondents. Second, although the difference in percentage responses between manual respondents in public and private consumption locations was small, involvement in private consumption appeared to exert a small conservative attitudinal influence. This was further explored by fitting a series of Logit models and the results of this exercise are reported in Section Four below.

The results of a cross-tabulation of occupational class, consumption sector and ATT3 are presented in Table Sixty Nine in Appendix A and they are broadly similar in that the most significant relationship involved non-manual respondents in public consumption sectoral locations. For example, fifty percent

of such respondents agreed with ATT3 compared to thirty percent of non-manual respondents in private consumption sectoral locations. However, the modest conservative attitudinal influence of private consumption among manual respondents which was noted in Tables Fifty Seven and Sixty Eight was absent in responses to ATT3.

The three sets of results which have been reviewed thus far enable two points to be made about the relationship between occupational class, consumption sector and public attitudes to specific inequalities in welfare. First, occupational class has by far the greatest significance in generating attitudinal variation. Whilst the influence of consumption sector was strong in the bivariate relationship, it diminished in a three way cross-tabulation including occupational class. This indicates that a significant proportion of the consumption effect was in fact an artefact of a prior class effect. In other words, class influences attitudes to inequalities in welfare directly and indirectly through consumption. Clearly, these results do not support Saunders' claim that private consumption is a major independent influence on attitudes to welfare.

Second, consumption sector does have a modest intervening influence on attitudes to welfare but it is necerssary to consider the results reviewed thus far in relation to the debate which this Chapter is addressing in order to assess their significance. Both Saunders and Dunleavy discuss the ideological consequences of consumption in the private and public sectors of welfare provision but their principal focus has been manual households involved in private consumption sectoral locations. Both authors attempt to explain what they see as working class conservatism in terms of participation in the private sector although Saunders is, perhaps, more enthusiastic in his emphases on this alleged phenomenon. However, the data which have been reviewed so far indicate that the most significant consumption influence involves non-manual respondents in public consumption sectoral locations, although the validity of this observation is open to

question owing to the small number of respondents in this category. A modest conservative attitudinal influence was apparent among manual private sector respondents but it in no way matched the claims of Saunders and Dunleavy. Accordingly, insofar as the object of evaluation is public attitudes to inequalities in welfare, it is possible to regard these claims as inflated.

A similar procedure was used to assess the inter-relationship between occupational class, consumption sector and attitudes to one aspect of voice in three areas of welfare. It was assumed when framing the concerns of the Plymouth study that the influence of private consumption would be of the greatest significance among manual households. This assumption was consonant with some of the views which were expressed in the appropriate literature during the 1980s and which maintained that a proportion of manual households had opted for private welfare as a result of their dissatisfaction with allegedly bureaucratic and paternalistic statist modes of welfare provision (Hall, 1982, 1984, Walker, 1984). This view was not, in fact, confirmed in any significant way by the patterns in the data.

Consider first the data which is presented in Table Fifty Eight. Step one contains figure which relate to two bivariate relationships involving occupational class and consumption sector as independent variables and it will be noted that the former had the strongest effect on 'responses to ATT4, as indicated by the figure of forty four in data column three of step one. It will be recalled that this figure is generated by subtracting the manual percentage response from the non-manual percentage response. It is almost twice as strong as the consumption effect of twenty four. However, it will also be recalled that this difference does not necessarily rule out the possibility that consumption sector has a significant 'intervening' influence on the relationship between occupational class and responses to ATT4. Again, in using the term 'intervening' I refer to the possibility that the attitudinal effect of consumption may serve to modify the effect

of class when it is used as a control variable in a three way cross-tabulation. The extent and the nature of its intervening influence will reflect on the validity of the consumption sector thesis.

The figures contrained in step two of Table Fifty Eight indicate first that this variable had a fairly modest intervening influence but one of a kind that would not have been expected as a result of reading the literature on this issue. As with attitudes to inequalities in welfare, the most significant consumption effect here appeared to involve non-manual respondents who were assigned a public consumption sectoral location. This is indicated by the figures in the last two data columns of step two. In the first of these columns, it can be seen that the bivariate class effect of forty four diminished by nineteen points to produce a figure of sixty three when the effect of public consumption was controlled for. It will be recalled that the latter figure is the difference between the non-manual public sector percentage response and the manual public sector percentage response. Recall that the greater the difference between the simple bivariate class effect and the class effect when consumption is controlled for, the more significant is the intervening influence of the latter variable. The figure of sixteen in the last data column of step two indicates that the influence of public consumption was most significant among non-manual respondents. However, this result may not be that significant and for two reasons. First, the number of respondents in the non-manual public sector category was extremely small. Entirely different results might have been generated if a greater number of respondents in this category had been sampled.

However, the most important aspect of the data presented in step two of Table Fifty Eight is the extremely small difference between the responses of manual respondents in public and private consumption sectoral locations, a difference of 8 in fact. Saunder's thesis involves the assertion that manual households involved in the consumption of private welfare adopt an

antagonistic attitudinal disposition to the process of consumer participation in state welfare. The responses of manual respondents in public and private consumption sectoral locations did not enable a positive comment to be made about the validity of this assertion.

A similar pattern in the data was observed when occupational class and consumption sector were crosstabulated with responses to ATT5 and ATT6. The results of this computation are presented in Tables Seventy and Seventy One in Appendix A. It will be recalled from the earlier discussion of the variables included in these contingency table analyses that ATT5 and ATT6 are concerned with the possibility or actuality of social security claimants and tenants complaining about the service they get. The structure of the responses according to class divisions but controlling for the effects of consumption sector was as follows.

First, the most significant intervening consumption effect in responses to both statements involved non-manual respondents who were assigned public consumption sectoral locations. In percentage terms, such respondents were substantially more sympathetic to voice for claimants and tenants. However, the number of respondents in this category was extremely small.

Second, the percentage difference between manual respondents in private and public consumption sectoral locations in responses to both Likert items was again fairly insignificant. Manual respondents were relatively homogeneous in their sympathetic evaluation of voice for claimants and tenants.

What then can be said about the debates on the relative significance of occupational class and private consumption in generating variation in attitudes to welfare in the light of the evidence which has been reviewed thus far?

It will be clear to the reader that of the two independent variables, occupational class was most significantly associated with variation in attitudes to welfare. This is an accurate assessment of the results of both the bivariate and multivariate crosstabulations.

However, the results of the multivariate analyses indicated that this significant relationship between class and attitudinal variation is modified by the intervening effects of consumption sector. Two kinds of consumption effect were discernable. First, in percentage terms, there was an apparently significant public consumption effect among non-manual respondents. If there had been a sufficient number of respondents in this category, this result would have confirmed one aspect of the consumption sector thesis. This involves the assertion that consumers of public welfare adopt an egalitarian and pro-welfare state outlook on distributive issues and a pro-status quo evaluative stance on the issue of participation in state welfare. Since the number of non-manual respondents involved in public consumption was so small, it is difficult to attatch a great deal of significance to their responses.

Second, the private consumption effect among manual respondents was very small and non-existent in responses to the issue of inequalities in health care. It is this specific consumption effect which has been emphasized in work on the influence of private consumption on household choice. In drawing on a range of theoretical and empirical studies including my own published work (Hyde and Deacon, 1986), Saunders claims that consumption sectoral cleaveages are as or more significant than occupational class in generating differences in life chances and attitudinal variation between households. The data which have been reviewed in this section do not support this claim in respect of working class households although they are not entirely unsupportive of the weaker claim advanced by Dunleavy that sectoral cleavages may cut across the prior effect of class in generating attitudinal variation. The mild polarization among manual respondents according to consumption sectoral

location in responses to a number of the Likert items was further explored through a series of Logit models and found to be significant in a modest way. This is reported further on in this Chapter.

ii) Occupational class, employment status and attitudes to welfare. A similar set of arguments has been advanced by Pahl although his thesis centres on a cleavage which is based on access to full time paid employment. This cleavage generates vertical divisions between households with an unemployed head and dependent on the state for welfare and affluent households with access to an extensive range of private consumption. more succinctly, he distinguishes between the 'underclass' and the 'middle mass' and a semi-operational definition which centres on unemployment is advanced. According to Pahl, this cleavage is as or more significant than one based on class divisions in generating differences in life chances and attitudinal variation between households. This thesis was also interrogated through an evaluation of a series of three way contingency tables and it was interrogated first in respect of attitudes to inequalities in welfare.

The first of these specific analyses centred on the data which are presented in Table Fifty Nine. Since the logic of this kind of analysis was more fully explained in the previous subsection of this chapter, it is taken for granted that the reader has a reasonably adequate understanding of the analytical procedure that was implemented.

It will be noted first that in simple bivariate terms, the occupational class effect was stronger than the employment status effect. However, there was a significant difference between non-unemployed and unemployed respondents in responses to ATT1, a difference of 34 percentage points. If the results of bivariate analyses were sufficient to validate hypotheses, this particular result would be more than ample to give empirical weight to Pahl's argument. Unfortunatley, bivariate analyses alone are not sufficient in respect of the Plymouth survey data.

This results from the possibility that the unemployment effect may be an artefact of the class effect. In other words, its degree of independence may be small.

This was confirmed by an examination of the figures that are presented in step two of Table Fifty Nine. Consider first the percentages that are presented in the second data column of step two. They indicate that the degree of polarization within the occupational class categories according to employment status was minimal. This suggested that a large proportion of the fairly significant bivariate relationship involving employment staatus could in fact be accounted for by the effect of occupational class. In other words, occupational class generated variation in responses to ATT1 directly and indirectly through differences in employment status. This was confirmed by an examination of the percentage differences that are presented in the last data column of step two in Table Fifty Nine. Recall that these figures are the differences in responses between unemployed and non-unemployed respondents within the two occupational class categories. When occupational class was included in a crosstabulation involving employment status, the effect of the latter variable diminished from 34 to 8 and 7 for non-manual and manual class categories respectively. The class effect, on the other hand, retained its significance in the three way crosstabulation, as indicated by the figures of 48 and 47 in the third data column of step two of Table Fifty Nine.

Clearly, these results do not confirm Pahl's thesis that a line of social cleavage which centres on employment is as or more significant then occupational class cleavages in generating attitudinal variation. However, if he had advocated the weaker thesis that class is central but that employment status modifies its influence, he would have found these results more promising. This is indicated particularly by the percentage difference for manual respondents of 7 in the last data column of step two. Although the correspsonding percentage difference for non-manual respondents was larger, its validity was open to question as a result of the extremely small number of unemployed

respondents in this category. Conversly, it is possible to be reasonably confident about the validity of the percentage difference for manual respondents. It is accordingly possible to be reasonably confident about the validity of the observation that belonging to a manual household with a main wage earner who is not unemployed has a very small conservative attitudinal influence.

This pattern of results is replicated in Table Seventy Two which is a presentation of responses to ATT2 by occupational class and employment status. The only difference from the pattern of the results which are presented in Table Fifty Nine is that the effect of employment status was significantly greater among non-manual respondents. However, since the number of such respondents was extremely small, the validity of this observation is open to doubt.

The pattern of responses to ATT3, which was concerned with inequalities in the consumption of state provided health care, was somewhat different. This resulted from the fact that unemployed manual respondents were more conservative than those who belonged to households with a head who wasn't unemployed. The data which indicated this are presented in data column two of step two in Table Seventy Three. This conservatism is not theoretically significant and it was not encountered in analyses of responses to other Likert items. Thus no attempt is made to interpret it here. However, what is theoretically significant is the result for manual respondents who belonged to a household with a head who wasn't unemployed. This result indicated that such respondents were far from being conservative in their evaluations of inequalities in the N.H.S. The results that were generated by this particular three way crosstabulation didn't give any weight at all to Pahls' thesis.

As far as attitudes to inequalities in general (indicated by responses to ATT1, ATT2 and ATT3) are concerned, the validity of this thesis is open to doubt. Whilst the results of the simple bivariate analyses involving employment status supported Pahls'

thesis, the reuslts of the three way crosstabulations indicated that a large proportion of the influence of this variable could be accounted for by the influence of occupational class. Thus the influence of employment status on attitudinal variation diminished considerably when it was assessed as an aspect of three way crosstabulations which included occupational class. However, as far as the central focus of Pahls' thesis is concerned, the fact of belonging to a household with a head who was not unemployed appeared to have a very small conservative influence on the responses of manual respondents to items which dealt with inequalities in income and housing.

A broadly similar picture was generated by the results of three way crosstabulations of occupational class, employment status and responses to ATT4, ATT5 and ATT6. In terms of simple bivariate relationships, the influence of employment status on responses to all three items was fairly significant. However, when this variable was included in a three way crosstabulation involving occupational class, it retained its significance in respect of non-manual respondents only. This can be seen from the figures in the second data column of step two in Table Sixty and Tables Seventy Four and Seventy Five in the Appendix. Since the number of unemployed non-manual respondents was so small, the validity of this observation is open to doubt.

If Pahl's thesis has any validity, one would expect manual respondents belonging to households with a main-wage earner who is not unemployed to express unfavourable evaluations of the way in which state welfare is currently delivered. Furthermore, one would expect to find a significant difference in responses between respondents in this category and unemployed manual respondents. An expected difference of a significant magnitude is, after all, the defining characteristic of a major and important social cleavage. In fact, no such difference was indicated by the results which were generated through cross-tabulating occupational class, employment status and responses to ATT4, ATT5 and ATT6. A small difference

was generated in responses to ATT4 and ATT5, as indicated by the percentage differences that are presented at the intersection of the last column and bottom row in Tables Sixty and Seventy Four. This indicated that employment status had a modest influence on the attitudes of manual respondents in respect of the issue of voice in state welfare, and in a way which would be expected upon a consideration of Pahl's thesis. Non-unemployed manual respondents were indeed more likely to evaluate the process of consumer participation in the NHS and the social security system unfavourably than those who were unemployed, but only marginally so. However, no such difference was generated in responses to ATT6. The effect of employment status among respondents in manual households was non-existent. This is indicated by the response percentages for manual respondents that are presented in the second data column of step two in Table Seventy in Appendix A. As with attitudes to inequalities in welfare, this interpretation of the data which is presented in Tables Sixty, Seventy Four and Seventy Five do not support the central argument of Pahl's thesis.

To conclude, the bivariate analyses involving employment status and responses to a range of Likert items appeared to confirm Pahl's argument that a line of social cleavage dividing underclass and middle mass households is a significant feature of the social structure in the UK and is as or more important than occupational class in generating patterns of household consciousness and, by implication, major differences in attitudes to welfare.

However, when the influence of employment status on attitudinal variation was evaluated, controlling for the effects of occupational class in a series of three way cross-tabulations, it was found to be fairly insignificant. This indicated that the effect of employment status in the bivariate association was largely an artefact of a prior class effect. Although the effect of employment status did modify the relationship between occupational class and attitudes, the magnitude of this effect was

not sufficient to confirm the central argument of Pahl's thesis. Manual respondents in households with a main wage earner who was not unemployed were not markedly conservative in their evaluations of inequalities in welfare and they were not significantly more likely to evaluate one aspect of the process of consumer participation in state welfare in a negative way. In respect of these specific attitudes, it would appear that Pahl has overstated the sociological significance of the social and economic trends he has perceived.

iii) Social class and consumption sector. Occupational class, then remains associated with public attitudes to welfare and in a significant way. However, the interactions which have just been discussed indicate that consumption sector and employment status may have a limited role to play in explaining attitudes to welfare. There are two possible responses to this. First whilst not accepting that occupational class has been displaced by new forms of social cleavage, at least as far as the formation of social and political attitudes is concerned, it is possible to concede that writers such as Pahl (1984), Saunders (1990), and Dunleavy (1985) are referring to independent axes of stratification which influence the overall nature of the social formation in a modest way. A certain amount of theoretical eclecticism with the emphasis remaining on occupational class might provide a way ahead in terms of understanding social structure and political behaviour in contemporary Britain. Alternatively, it is possible to insist that this is unnecessary because the 'economic' has primacy in determining the nature of the social formation, and if one wants to understand the latter, one need only obtain a thorough grasp of the former. From this point of view, if empirical shortcomings are apparent when the RG scheme is applied in survey research, this results from the nature of the scheme itself. It may have been an appropriate tool of analysis when the British economy was based largely on manufacturing industry, but it is not appropriate to a situation in which the service sector is the mainstay of the economy and where the range of positions in the middle of the occupational structure has

expanded considerably in both definitions and numbers. If an understanding of the social formation is the goal, then an adequate conception of its economic base is the means to obtain it. This appears to be the general thrust of the argument presented by Wright in his most recent published work on this issue (1985).

It was noted in Chapter Two that certain neo-Weberian reformulations of occupational class have been applied quite successfully in studies of social and political attitudes (Marshall, 1988) and voting behaviour (Heath, 1985). Wright, however, insists that his extensively reformulated Marxist version of social class is more appropriate to the analysis of the public attitudes and political behaviour in the advanced capitalist liberal democracies in that it is based on the most significant feature of stratification in such societies; that is, relations of exploitation in the capitalist labour process. The RG scheme and alternative neo-Weberian formulations such as Hope Goldthorpe are rather condescendingly dismissed as being based on 'technical' relations of production and status differences.

Is Wright's scheme more appropriate to explaining public attitudes to welfare? The pattern of results in Table Sixty One would suggest that this is not the case. These results relate to the relationship between social class, consumption sector and attitudes to inequalities in housing.

It will be noted that the difference between the ruling class and workers in their responses to ATT1 was considerable. However, the ruling class in both the sample and the population at large are a small minority and we are really interested in the cleavage between workers and those in contradictory class locations since the implications of this for welfare politics in the UK are potentially more important. In terms of the bivariate relationships, the social class effect is stronger, but only marginally so. This social class effect of thirty nine can be contrasted with the corresponding occupational class effect of

fifty one. There is a significant difference. It could be argued that this is an unfair comparison since this proportion of thirty nine does not represent the full social class effect.

Consider, therefore, the spearmans rank order co-efficients in Table Sixty Two. These were generated by correlating the full uncollapsed occupational and social class schemes with attitudes to inequalities in housing, income and health. Occupational class generated higher co-efficients for all three attitude statements. This was confirmed by the results of subsequent loglinear analyses which are reported below. In overall terms, therefore, social class did not explain attitudes to inequalities in welfare as well as occupational class, although it is significantly related to these attitudes. The term 'explanation' is interpreted here in terms of the extent to which variance is explained statistically.

When a three way contingency table involving the variables social class, consumption sector and responses to ATT1 was generated, it was clear that the influence of consumption sector was significant among both middle and working class respondents. This is indicated by the percentage differences for middle and working class respondents that are presented in the last data column of step two in Table Sixty One. Whilst social class remained the principal determinant of attitudinal variation, the intervening influence of consumption sector was more significant here than it was when included in the three way cross-tabulation involving occupational class and consumption sector. If the main purpose of formulating class classification schemes is to achieve greater explanatory power for the concept of class, the RG classification scheme appears to have the edge in respect of responses to ATT1.

However, this would not be an appropriate description of the data which is presented in Tables Seventy Six and Seventy Seven in Appendix A. These results indicate that the intervening influence of consumption sector on attitudinal

variation between different sectors in the working class is almost non-existent. For example, the percentage differences for workers which are located at the intersection of the last data column and the bottom row in step two of Tables Seventy Six and Seventy Seven have a value of 1 and 2 respectively.

On the other hand, the intervening influence of consumption swector was more significant among respondents who were assigned a contradictory class location. This is indicated by the percentage differnces of forty five and thirty one that are presented in the last data column of step two in Tables Seventy Six and Seventy Seven respectively. Indeed, these figures are of such a magnitude as to indicate that the influence of consumption sector on attitudinal variation was as important as the influence of social class among respondents who were assigned a contradictory class location.

In sum, three specific effects were discernable in the results of a series of contingency table analyses when respondents were classified accordingly to a specific social class classification scheme. First, working class respondents were relatively homogeneous in the way that they responded to inequalities in income and in the consumption of state provided health care. Second, respondents who were assigned a contradictory class location were significantly fragmented according to consumption sectoral location in their responses to inequalities in income, housing and health care. Third, the overall fit between class and attitudinal variation was better when the occupational class scheme was used to classify respondents. This was indicated by the results of the bivariate analyses which are presented in the tables which have been reported in this chapter.

If the purpose of devising class classification schemes is to improve on the explanatory power of the concept class, this was achieved through Wright's scheme in respect of working class attitudes. However, the results of applying this scheme did not

enable a clear distinction to be made between middle and working class attitudes when consumption sector was controlled for. Accordingly, if the purpose of devising class classification schemes is to enable such distinctions to be made, the scheme based on a distinction between manual and non-manual labour appears to have the edge.

Section Four. Loglinear Analysis

Two concerns guided the analyses which are reported in this section. The first was to apply a multi-variate statistical technique to some of the tables which have already been reported with a view to producing numerical estimates of the relative importance of each of the independent variables to explaining attitudes to inequalities in welfare. The second was to quantify the interactions which were reported in the last section and to assess their overall importance in terms of explaining attitudes to inequalities in welfare.

In general previous studies of attitudes to welfare which have involved multi-variate analyses of survey data have relied on multiple linear regression (Taylor-Gooby, 1983, 1985, Whitely, 1981, Wright, 1985). However, there is some debate in the literature about the applicability of this statistical procedure for dependent variables where an interval level of measurement is not used. Taylor-Gooby justifies the use of multiple regression in his study by asserting that it 'is widely regarded as sufficiently robust to tolerate departures from the strict logical requirements of the method' (Taylor-Gooby, 1985, p 39). Conversely, Blalock (1985, p 535) insists that regression analysis is applicable only to dependent variables which are interval and ratio scales.

As Likert scale items are ordinal scales, a form of loglinear analysis was used to explore the relative effects of a small number of independent variables on attitudes to welfare. The set of analytic techniques which are involved in loglinear analysis are relatively new and so a brief note of explanation is required to facilitate the

interpretation of results. The standard method is normally used in exploratory data analysis where no assumptions are made about the causal ordering of the variables. Gilbert provides a useful summary in stating that the procedure:

> 'seeks to construct and test models against data collected from the social world. The models are intended to account for theoretically significant patterns in the data. In order to assess the validity of a model, an analytic technique is used to generate the data which would have been obtained if the model did correctly represent the real world and this data and the observed data are compared. The essence of the exploratory approach to analysis is that successive models are compared to find that which best fits the data' (Gilbert, 1982, p 42).

The eventual choice of model to represent the data is determined on the one hand by 'economy' in terms of the number of relationships in each model and on the other by the statistical 'fit' of the models.

Loglinear analysis generates a chi-square statistic and a significance level and these can be used to assess the fit of a model in much the same way that the fit of observed and expected frequencies are assessed in the standard chi-square test of independence. The difference between the two techniques is that significance levels in loglinear analysis are interpreted inversely. Thus a P value of 0.95 informs us that there is a 95 per cent chance that there is no real difference between expected and observed values. In other words there is a strong probability that the model fits the data.

The standard loglinear analysis outlined above was not used here because the number of variables which are used is relatively small and the nature of the relationships which are to be tested can be and have been specified in advance. Logit analysis is explicitly aimed at testing the relationship between a set of independent variables and a specific dependent variable and is therefore appropriate to the concerns of this chapter. It works on the same principle as the standard method in that its purpose is to assess the degree of 'fit' between the predicted values of a specified model and the observed distribution of values. The advantage of Logit analysis is that it

enables the influence of the independent variables on the dependent variable to be quantified as with multiple linear regression. The Logit procedure therefore enables the analyst to assess the extent to which a set of independent variables are associated with a dependent variable.

The way in which the variables were coded for the analysis which is reported in this section is presented in figure nine. It will be noted, first that the dependent variables now contain only two categories. The reason for this is that Logit models were designed to examine the relationship between a 'dichotomous' dependent variable and a set of independent variables (Norusis, p 334). Occupational class, employment status and consumption are also coded as dichotomies.

Figure Nine. The Coding of the variables used in the Logit analyses

Employment Status	1	Unemployed
	2	Not unemployed
Social Class	1	Proletarians
	2	Contradictory class locations
	3	Bourgeoisie
Occupational Class	1	Manual
	2	Non-Manual
Consumption sector	1	Public
	2	Private
ATT1	1	Disagrees with Inequality
	2	Agrees with Inequality
ATT2	1	Disagrees with Inequality
	2	Agrees with Inequality
ATT3	1	Disagrees with Inequality
	2	Agrees with Inequality

Social class retained its three categories for the logit analysis in order to maintain continuity with the prior analysis of three way tables. However, one advantage of logit analysis is that it enables the overall effect of an independent variable to be assessed in

addition to the effects of categories within the variable. It was also noted that the attitude statements which were concerned with 'participation' were not included in the Logit analyses. This omission results from the observation, made repeatedly in this thesis, that social cleavages are not, in general, significantly associated with attitudes to consumer participation in welfare. Conversely, differentiated public perceptions of inequalities in welfare appear to be a significant outgrowth of the class structure in the UK. The qualitative analyses which were reported in Chapter Seven indicated that members of the general public attach distributional values to their perceptions of inequalities in welfare. The Logit analyses which are reported here might therefore be regarded as a statistical evaluation of the inter-relationships between occupational class, social class, consumption sector, perceptions of inequalities in welfare and the ideological patterning of distributional values among the general population.

i) Inequalities in housing. We can look at the two way relationships, in Table Sixty Three, model A, in order to illustrate what Logit analysis does. This model hypothesises that the distribution of responses to ATT1 can be predicted on the basis of four bivariate relationships between four independent variables and ATT1. In terms of the directions of the relationships, we would expect non-manual workers, non-unemployed respondents and respondents who were assigned a private consumption sectoral location to express agreement with inequalities in housing. This model does, in fact, generate the best fit. The Liklihood Ratio Chi-square statistic is 0.654. Remember that the smaller this figure is, the greater the possibility that the model fits the data. The significance level indicates that there is a probability of .99 that this result did not occur by chance. The Beta co-efficients for each of the individual terms in the model have a fairly intuitive meaning but are not directly comparable as they are not standardized. However, by doubling the co-efficients and obtaining the anti-log for each it is possible to assess the effect that each independent variable has on the odds of agreeing or not agreeing with inequalities in housing. To

illustrate, the beta co-efficient for social class in model A in Table Sixty Three is 0.293. Doubling this gives us 0.586 of which the anti-log is 1.796. This means that the fact of belonging to a contradictory class location increases the odds of agreeing with inequalities in housing 1.796 times. Using the same procedure, being a non-manual worker increased the odds of agreeing with inequalities in housing five times. In this particular model, therefore, occupational class has a significantly greater influence on attitudes to inequalities in housing than social class.

Row five of Table Sixty Three contains statistics which purport to represent the amount of variance which is explained by the various models. This statistic is, in fact, based on Gini's concentration measure which is similar to R2 for regression analysis. A similar statistic which is available for Logit analysis is Shannon's entropy measure. Using the former measure, the variance explained by model A is 33.5%. However, there is some doubt about the value of these measures. Haberman (1982), in particular, suggests that the co-efficients may be small, even when there is a strong relationship between independent and dependent variables. Since this doubt exists, the fit of models was assessed using LR and P.

In practice, one would not accept model A and for two reasons. First, there are too many terms in the model. It will be recalled that the trick is to find the most 'economical' model. Second, the fit of the model is too good, as indicated by the LR of 0.654 which is more than adequate. As Kendrick points out, there seems to be relatively little discussion in the literature on how good a fit should be. However, Knoke and Burke (1980) suggest a value of between 10.000 and 35.00. Using this criterion, it can be seen that most of the models adequately fit the data. Three can be eliminated on the grounds that they do not have sufficiently high significance levels. How, then, are we to choose between the rest? This involves an intuitive process of comparison which can be developed in one of two

ways. Each of the individual terms can be sequentially subtracted from the full model and the effects of this can be examined or alternatively terms can be added to models which include one of each of the bivariate relationships.

Removing individual terms from the full models has no effect on significant levels. It does affect LR, however. When occupational class is removed from the model, LR increases from 0.654 to 3.956. It will be noted that this is the largest effect produced by the removal of one bivariate relationship indicating that occupational class is of the greatest significance in terms of the relative contributions of the four independent variables to ATT1.

This was confirmed by comparing models which included only one of each of the four bivariate relationships. The occupational class model generated the best fit.

Adding variables produced similar results and indicated which particular additional variables may have been worth including in final model. In fact, models J and K, which involved combinations of occupational class, employment status and consumption sector, generated the best fit. In both models, occupational class was the most significant variable in terms of its effect on ATT1. So for instance, in model K, being a non-manual worker increased the odds of agreeing with inequalities in housing 3.849 times. By contrast, being involved in a private consumption sectoral location increased the odds of expressing agreement 1.231 times. Similar log-odds were obtained for model J which included occupational class and employment status.

Those models in Table Sixty Three which include social class, social class and employment status and social class and consumption sector also have an acceptable fit. Social class, operationalized in terms of Wright's formula, is significantly related to ATT1 and its relative effect is stronger than the

effects of employment status and consumption sector. For example, in model M which generated the best fit for a social class and additional variable model, belonging to a contradictory class location increased the odds of agreeing with inequalities 3.380 times. Belonging to a private consumption sectoral location increased the odds of expressing agreement 1.803 times. On the basis of these results, those who view the world through marxist spectacles may be tempted to feel that social class is sufficiently related to ATT1 as to provide an adequate explanation of attitudes to inequalities in housing. It should be clear from the patterns expressed in models A to N, however, that occupational class combined perhaps with employment status or consumption sector provides a better explanation.

ii) Health care. Logit analysis was subsequently applied to the relationship between the four independent variables and attitudes to inequalities in health, following a similar logic. Some the results of this exercise are contained in Table Sixty Four. It will be noted that all of the models fit the data adequately.

In model A, which includes all four of the two way relationships, occupational class is the variable which is most strongly related to ATT3. Thus belonging to a non-manual household increased the likelihood of agreeing with inequalities 3.911 times. By contrast, being involved in a contradictory class location increased the likelihood of expressing agreement with inequalities 3.796 times. The effect of employment status appeared to be stronger in relation to inequalities in health, than for housing. Belonging to the non-unemployed population increased the odds of agreeing with inequalities 2.229 times. In model A, occupational class, social class and employment status were, in this order, the most important variables affecting the distribution of responses to ATT3. This pattern was evident when the remaining models were examined.

First, models were compared when one of each of the four terms was removed from the full model. The most significant effect was generated by removing the occupational class variable,

indicated by an increase in the magnitude of the Liklihood Chi square ratio statistic from 0.195 to 0.716. Following this, it was observed that the removal of social class and employment status produced the second and third most significant effects. The inclusion of the four independent variables in single bivariate models produced almost identical results.

When combinations of two variables were compared, it became evident that occupational class combined with employment status generated the best fit. This model hypothesized that the distribution of responses to ATT3 can be predicted by two bivariate relationships involving occupational class and employment status. The fit of this model more than adequately confirms this hypothesis. As expected, the relative contribution of class to ATT3 in the model was greater. Belonging to a non-manual household increased the odds of agreeing with inequalities 1.881 times. It is clear that employment status made a greater contribution to ATT3 than it did in the model for housing.

A similar pattern emerged in the model which included social class and employment status. Social class was found to be most clearly associated with ATT3 with a log odds of 2.104 compared to a log odds of 1.726 for employment status. However the overall fit of this model did not match that of the model involving occupational class. Occupational class is the best predictor of attitudes to inequalities in health-care and this predictive capacity is substantially enhanced when a bivariate relationship involving employment status is included.

It became clear at this stage, that it was possible to guess which would be the best model from the magnitudes of the beta co-efficients in the model containing the four two way relationships. However, this observation does not obviate the need to compare alternative models as it is necessary to obtain a precise measure of fit for the best model in addition to estimates of the relative contribution of the variables in the model.

iii) Poverty. Which variables were most significantly associated with public attitudes to income inequalities? Model A in Table Sixty Five indicates that both social class and occupational class are most significantly related to ATT2 with the greatest effect being attributable to the latter. The pattern of results is similar to that which was expressed in the housing table in that employment status and consumption sector appear to have only a modest influence on the distribution of responses to ATT2. This pattern runs through the models which are presented in Table Sixty Five. Thus when single terms were deleted from the full model, the models which were most affected were those where occupational and social class were absent. When single variable models were compared, the best fit was generated by occupational and social class in this order. The two single variable models involving employment status and consumption sector generated a fit that was so small as to be unacceptable, both in terms of the likelihood ratio chi-square statistic and significance level. To illustrate this, there was a probability of only 0.07 that the fit between the model involving employment status and the data did not occur by chance.

It wasn't surprising, therefore, to find little improvement in fit when consumption sector or employment status was combined with occupational or social class. For instance, model J, which included the bivariate relationships involving occupational class and employment status, generated an LR of 4.909. Compare this with an LR of 4.612 which was generated by the model including occupational class only. There is hardly any difference.

Occupational and social class are significantly related to ATT2. In terms of the fit of the various models, however, occupational class is a better predictor of attitudes to income inequality than social class. Furthermore, there seems little point in combining occupational class with a bivariate relationship involving another 'intervening' variable. The model involving occupational class alone, which hypothesizes that non-manual workers are more likely to agree with income inequalities, adequately describes the pattern of responses to ATT2.

iv) Introducing interactions. Some of the interactions which were noted as being of importance in the previous section were added to a number of the already discussed two bivariate relationship models with a view to improving their fit and to assessing the importance of the interactions to explaining public attitudes to certain welfare issues. A distinction can be made between interactions which relate to occupational class and those which relate to social class. The two are discussed separately below.

The interactions involving occupational class are presented in Models A to F in Table Sixty Six and discussed in this order.

Model A

This model hypothesized that the distribution of responses to inequalities in housing could be adequately predicted by occupational class, consumption sector and an interaction between the two involving manual respondents who were assigned private consumption sectoral locations. Including the interaction improved the overall fit of the original two variable model in Table Sixty Three from a likelihood chi-square statistic of 2.307 to one of 0.693. Within the model, occupational class was the major influence on attitudes. However, the effect of the interaction was greater than the effect of the consumption sector variable. Thus being a manual worker and involved in a private consumption sectoral location increased the odds of agreeing with inequalities 1.363 times. A better model might therefore include occupational class and the interaction.

Model B

This model hypothesized that the distribution of responses to ATT2 could be adequately predicted by two bivariate relationships involving occupational class, consumption sector and an interaction involving the two. A similar improvement in fit, from 4.409 in Table Sixty Five to 1.1667 in Table Sixty Six was obtained. In this model, the interaction effect was smaller than the consumption effect but still marked. Thus being a manual worker and involved in a private consumption sectoral location increased the odds of agreeing with inequalities 1.778 times.

Model C

This model hypothesized that responses to inequalities in housing could be adequately predicted by occupational class, employment status and an interaction involving unemployed non-manual workers. In fact being an unemployed non-manual worker decreased the odds of agreeing with inequalities in housing 1.565 times. However, the overall improvement in fit from 2.059 to 1.427 was small. This probably results from the fact that the number of non-manual workers in the sample was also small. There are no grounds for preferring this model to the two variable model in Table Sixty Three.

Model D

A similar conclusion can be drawn from the pattern of results which was generated by this model which hypothesized that the distribution of responses to inequalities in income could be adequately predicted by occupational class, employment status and an interaction involving unemployed non-manual workers. Being an unemployed non-manual worker decreased the odds of agreeing with inequalities 1.353 times. However, the improvement in fit increased from 4.909 to only 4.858, indicating that including the interaction did not lead to a better representation of the data.

Model E

This model hypothesized that responses to ATT3 could be adequately predicted by occupational class, consumption sector, and an interaction involving non-manual workers involved in public consumption sectoral locations. Although belonging to this category decreased the odds of agreeing with inequalities in the consumption of health care, there was no improvement in the overall fit of the model, and therefore, no grounds for preferring it to the original two variable model.

Model F

This model hypothesized that responses to ATT3 could be adequately predicted by occupational class, employment status

and an interaction involving unemployed non-manual workers. Belonging to this group decreased the likelihood of agreeing with inequalities in health care 1.407 times but again, the overall fit of the model did not improve.

It will be recalled that the elaborations which were reported in the previous section demonstrated two things about the relationship between social class, consumption sector and attitudes to inequalities in welfare. First, working class respondents were relatively homogeneous in their responses to inequalities in welfare. Second, respondents in contradictory class locations were significantly polarized by consumption sector. This part of the analysis was therefore less complicated in that it involved only three models, each representing one of the three areas of social welfare and each including a similar interaction. Each of the models hypothesized that the distribution of responses to inequalities in welfare could be adequately predicted by social class, consumption sector and an interaction involving respondents in both contradictory class locations and public consumption sectoral locations (Table Sixty Seven).

Model A

The fact of being assigned a contradictory class location and a public consumption sectoral location increased the likelihood of not agreeing with inequalities in health-care a modest 0.262 times. Furthermore, the overall fit of the model did not improve by including the interaction.

Model B

The overall fit of the model improved from 3.826 in Table Sixty Three to 1.016, by including the interaction. The odds of agreeing with inequalities decreased 1.584 times for respondents who were assigned both a contradictory class location and a public consumption sectoral location. One might consider that this interaction should therefore be included in a model aimed at accounting for the relationship between social class and attitudes to welfare.

Model C

A similar conclusion can be drawn from the pattern of responses which was generated by fitting this model to the data. The overall fit of the model improved from 6.167 to 1.599. Being assigned a contradictory class location and a public consumption sectoral location decreased the odds of agreeing with inequalities in income 1.066 times.

SUMMARY

The results of the loglinear analyses which have been reported in this section enable a number of points to be made about the relationship between a range of independent variables and public attitudes to inequalities in welfare.

First, class was the better predictor of attitudes to inequalities in welfare than variables which were operational definitions of alternative lines of social cleavage. Models which included class, whether occupational or social, adequately represented the data. However, occupational class was a better predictor of attitudes than social class.

Second, the effect of alternative variables varied according to the area of social welfare in question. Thus the effect of employment status appeared significant in relation to health care. In terms of bivariate relationships, a model which included occupational class and employment status fitted the data adequately. Where housing was concerned, two models, class and consumption and class and employment status provided the best fit. For income occupational class on its own appeared to be sufficient.

Third, interactions between class and alternative independent variables appeared to have some effect on the distribution of responses to certain attitude statements. Interactions were introduced as a result of observable patterns in the data which were generated by multi-way contingency tables. As it turned out, some of these patterns turned out to be useful in explaining the distribution of responses. Others were not. For instance, manual workers who were assigned private consumption sectoral locations were indeed more likely to agree with inequalities in income and housing than their public sector counterparts, although the overall class effect was substantially stronger. On the other hand, the models which included the interaction involving non-manual workers who were unemployed or who were assigned a public consumption sectoral location did not generate much of an improvement on the

corresponding bivariate models representing responses to inequalities in health, housing and income.

Fifth, respondents in contradictory class locations were polarized according to consumption sectoral locations and when this interaction was included with the social class and consumption bivariate models, a significant improvement in fit was generated.

Conclusion

To return to the question which was phrased at the beginning of this chapter, 'which lines of social cleavage are most significantly associated with public attitudes to welfare?'

In terms of the main line of cleavage and its influence on attitudes, class based divisions appear to be the most significant. By 'main line of cleavage', I mean that which generates the most clear and significant division between those who tend to hold one particular set of attitudes and those who tend to hold another set of attitudes. In this respect, occupational class, involving a distinction between manual and non-manual labour, rather than social class, involving a distinction between the working class and 'contradictory class locations' is the better overall predictor of attitudes.

Consumption sector and employment status are significantly related to attitudes, but not to the same extent. Moreover, their effect is not independent of class based processes. This was demonstrated in Chapter Four and confirmed here by the results of the Plymouth survey. Consumption sector and employment status exert an independent influence on attitudes to welfare to the extent that they interact with class, that is to say, when the 'typical' effect of one or more class categories change as a result of controlling for the third variable.

On the basis of the results and analyses which have been discussed in this chapter, it can be reported, and with a certain amount of confidence, that two specific types of interaction are evident. The first relates to occupational class whilst the second relates to social class.

First, private consumption generated a small conservative attitudinal influence among manual respondents in respect of inequalities in income and housing. This was supportive of Dunleavys' hypothesis that consumption sector influences social and political attitudes in a partially independent way. The overall class

effect is stronger, however, and Saunder's hypothesis can therefore be dispensed with. Household consumption does not structure attitudes to welfare as an independent axis of stratification. Employment status appeared to interact with class in the multi-way contingency tables but this was not confirmed by subsequent analysis involving logit models. Pahl may therefore be correct in his observation that society is divided between the affluent majority and the underclass, a division based on access to work opportunities, but this division is not significantly related in a statistical sense to attitudes to welfare. 'Class' rather than 'citizenship' appears to structure attitudes.

Second, when social class is used to predict attitudes, those of the working class appear to be more consistent and homogeneous. The interaction between class and consumption sector which was evident among manual workers was virtually absent among Wright's workers. Wright's scheme is better at predicting working class attitudes. It certainly doesn't suffer from the problem of 'inventing' allegedly deskilled workers in order to make up the numbers of a rapidly shrinking working class, as suggested by Pahl. However, what the scheme gains on the swings it loses on the roundabouts. It doesn't predict the attitudes of the middle class as well as the occupational class scheme. An interaction was apparent involving respondents in both contradictory class locations and public consumption sectoral locations. This was suggested by the patterns in the contingency tables and confirmed by the analyses involving logit models. Since the overall fit of the models involving social class was not as good as the fit of the models involving occupational class, there seems to be no logical reason for preferring the social class scheme to a scheme which is based on the distinction between manual and non-manual labour.

Table Fifty Six

Bivariate associations between the independent variables and ATT1 (N) %

	AGREE ATT1		PERCENTAGE DIFFERENCE	GAMMA
	ATT1			
Occupational Class	Manual	non manual		
	7 (73)	58 (69)	51	0.823
Social Class	Workers	CCL		
	14 (80)	53 (53)	39	0.668
Employment Status	Unemployed	Not unemployed		
	6 (33)	40 (110)	34	0.667
Consumption sector	Public	Private		
	11 (53)	44 (81)	33	0.603

Table Fifty Seven

Occupational class, consumption sector and responses to ATT1

(People complain too much about homelessness and bad housing conditions)

Household Class X1	Consumption Sector X2	N		Agree ATT1	Effect of Independent Variable X1	X2
Step one						
Non Manual		69	%	58	51	
Manual		73	%	7		
	Private	81	%	44		33
	Public	53	%	11		
*Step two						
Non-manual	Private	56	%	61		11
	Public	4	%	50	53	
Manual	Private	25	%	8	46	2
	Public	48	%	6		

* 10 missing cases as a result of coding errors.

Table Fifty Eight

Occupational class, consumption sector and responses to ATT4

(The NHS has a fair complaints procedure)

Household Class XI	Consumption Sector X2	N		Agree ATT4	Effect of Independent Variable X1	X2
Step one						
Non-manual		69	%	52	44	
Manual		73	%	8		
	Private	81	%	41		24
	Public	53	%	17		
* Step two						
Non-manual	Private	56	%	59		16
	Public	4	%	75	55	
Manual	Private	25	%	4	63	8
	Public	48	%	12		

*10 missing cases resulting from coding error.

Table Fifty Nine

Occupational class, employment status and responses to ATT1

(People complain too much about homelessness and bad housing conditions)

Household Class X1	Consumption Sector X2	N		Agree ATT1	Effect of Independent Variable X1	X2
Step one						
Non-manual		69	%	58	51	
Manual		73	%	7		
	Not unemployed	110	%	40		34
	Unemployed	33	%	6		
Step two						
Non-manual	Not unemployed	67	%	58	48	8
	Unemployed	2	%	50		
Manual	Not unemployed	42	%	10	47	7
	Unemployed	31	%	3		

Table Sixty

Occupational class, employment status and responses to ATT4

(The NHS has a fair complaints procedure)

Household Class XI	Consumption Sector X2	N		Agree ATT4	Effect of Independent Variable X1	Effect of Independent Variable X2
Step one						
Non-manual		69	%	52	44	
Manual		73	%	8		
	Not unemployed	110	%	34		27
	Unemployed	33	%	7		
Step two						
Non-manual	Not unemployed	67	%	53	48	53
	Unemployed	2	%	0		
Manual	Not unemployed	42	%	5	8	3
	Unemployed	31	%	8		

Table Sixty One

Social class, consumption sector and responses to ATT1

(People complain too much about homelessness and bad housing conditions)

Household Class X1	Consumption Sector X2	N		Agree ATT1	Effect of Independent Variable X1	Effect of Independent Variable X2
Step one						
CCL		53	%	53	39	
Workers		80	%	14		
	Private	81		44		33
	Public	53		11		
*Step two						
CCL	Private	45	%	56		18
	Public	8	%	38	41	
Workers	Private	26	%	15	31	19
	Public	45	%	7		

* Nine missing observations resulting from coding errors.

Table Sixty Two

Rank order correlation - Occupational class, social class and attitudes to inequalities in welfare (N = 143)

	ATT1	ATT2	ATT3
Social Class	-0.277	-0.455	-0.432
Occupational Class	-0.412	-0.562	-0.473

Table Sixty Three

Class, Employment, consumption sector and public attitudes to Inequalities in housing (N = 133)

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
Social Class	0.293		0.635	0.246	0.303	0.743						0.766	0.609	
Occupational Class	0.805	0.649		0.780	0.837		0.733			0.691	0.674			
Employment Status	0.167	0.106	-0.039		0.183			0.338		0.124		-0.028		0.246
Consumption Sector	0.053	0.085	0.298	0.083					0.502		0.104		0.295	0.435
LR	0.654	1.825	3.956	1.113	0.781	6.540	2.798	28.289	20.707	2.059	2.307	5.607	3.826	18.344
Variance Explained	0.035	0.318	0.188	0.332	0.320	0.099	0.317	0.059	0.067	0.317	0.317	0.103	0.184	0.098
P	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.14	0.54	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.63

Table Sixty Four

Class, Unemployment, consumption sector and Public Attitudes to health, (N = 133)

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
Social Class	0.667		0.392	0.521	0.593	0.667						0.372	0.284	
Occupational Class	0.582	-0.246		0.546	0.665		-0.367			0.316	-0.317			
Employment Status	0.401	0.309	0.347		0.409			0.259		0.259		-0.237		0.242
Consumption Sector	0.052	-0.053	-0.097	-0.154					-0.192		0.145		-0.189	-0.086
LR	0.195	0.716	0.894	4.137	0.169	1.421	1.291	2.261	2.295	0.40797	1.128	0.930	1.608	1.357
Variance explained	-0.083	-0.027	-0.017	-0.266	0.078	0.245	-0.543	-0.026	-0.431	-0.037	-0.042	-0.346	-0.425	-0.016
P	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.99

Table Sixty Five

Class, Employment, consumption sector and public attitudes to poverty (N = 133)

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
Social Class	0.417	0.664	0.746	0.362	0.419	0.798						0.839	0.676	
Occupational Class	0.518	0.664		0.536	0.554		0.701			0.693	0.668			
Employment Status	-0.076	0.024	-0.134		-0.062			0.354		0.032		-0.065		0.181
Consumption Sector	0.059	0.053	0.228	0.043					0.439		0.057		0.206	0.378
LR	3.249	4.659	5.471	3.879	3.628	7.172	4.612	41.615	32.721	4.909	4.409	6.944	6.167	31.277
Variance explained	0.393	0.371	0.277	0.393	0.393	0.369	0.369	-0.049	0.083	0.372	0.369	0.227	0.272	0.103
P	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.07	0.06	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.07

Table Sixty Six

Exploring interactions between occupational class, employment status and consumption sector (N = 133)

	A	B	C	D	E	F
Occupational class	-0.488	-0.498	0.787	0.764	0.390	1.701
Employment status			-0.156	-0.593		-0.470
Consumption sector	0.114	0.288			-0.129	
Interaction, class and employment		0.164		-0.151		-0.171
Interaction, class and consumption	0.155		-0.224		-0.149	
LR	0.693	1.667	1.42773	4.8585	11.079	1.380
Variance explained	0.286	0.379	0.283	0.425	0.178	0.254
P	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.99	0.94	0.99

CODING

Occupational Class	Non-Manual	1	1	2	2	2	2
	Manual	2	2	1	1	1	1
Employment status	Non-unemployed			1	1		1
	Unemployed			2	2		2
Consumption sector	Private	2	2			1	
	Public	1	1			2	

Dependent Variables

Do not agree with inequalities = 1

Agree with inequalities = 2

Table Sixty Seven

Exploring interactions between social class, consumption sector and attitudes to inequalities in welfare (N = 133)

	HEALTH	HOUSING	INCOME
	A	B	C
Social Class	0.212	0.566	0.463
Consumption sector	-0.193	-0.406	-0.200
Interaction, class and consumption	-0.131	-0.230	-0.032
LR	3.609	1.016	1.599
Variance Explained	0.181	0.324	0.181
P	0.99	0.99	0.99

CODING

Social Class	Ruling	3
	CCL	2
	Workers	1
Consumption Sector	Public	2
	Private	1
Agree inequalities	Agree	2
	Dont't agree	1

CHAPTER NINE

CLASS AND WELFARE IN THE 1990s

Many of the arguments about social class, emerging patterns of welfare provision and attitudes to welfare which were developed and presented in the 1980s can be summarized in the following proposition.

> 'Labour now has to appeal to voters who have bought their council home, owned a car and had £500 worth of shares in privatized companies. The implications of this line of argument are profound ... the voters Labour needs to win back believe that markets are better than bureaucrats at securing individual prosperity' (Kellner, 1987, p 9).

This proposition is underpinned by three sets of assumptions. First, unsatisfactory experiences of statist forms of welfare provision are significantly related to the motivational bases of voting behaviour. Issues relating to consumer participation in welfare have a crucial political significance in the 1990s. Second, new patterns of welfare provision which centre on private consumption emerged during the 1980s. Third, these new patterns of interest have generated significant social identity and attitudinal effects, particularly among affluent manual households. The available evidence, including the Plymouth survey data, indicates that these assumptions are open to serious doubt.

First, the financial and distributional aspects of welfare provision occupy a position of central importance in the calculations of households in the UK. People are dissatisfied with their experiences of statist forms of welfare but for most households, this is a secondary issue. The evidence which relates to this is discussed in Section One below.

Second, social class continues to be of central importance to existing patterns of welfare provision. The growth of mass participation in private welfare, which has so far been restricted to housing, has not significantly modified class divisions in the UK. This view is reinforced when the broader spectrum of Conservative social policy in the 1980s is considered. The distributive impact of

this policy has enhanced the welfare of the already affluent and wealthy at the expense of welfare for the poor and deprived. The evidence which relates to this is presented in Section Two.

Third, the enduring importance of social class to patterns of welfare provision is reflected in patterns of consciousness. Alternative patterns of interest based on participation in welfare which is underpinned by state fiscal and institutional arrangements have a modest influence on attitudes which can be related to practical developments in the politics of welfare. However, the evidence indicates that it is patterns of interest in welfare which are generated by the class structure which have the most significant attitudinal effects. Furthermore, these class based patterns of interest and consciousness have important implications for the development of welfare policy in the 1990s.

Section One. Consumption or the Experience of Consumption?

One of the assumptions which informed much of the analyses and reporting which constitute this thesis is that public perceptions of welfare matter to the direction that welfare policy takes. People may influence the initial framing of policy and the course of implementation by voting, through participation in trade union activity and through involvement in one off campaigns. In addition, the ongoing involvement of people as clients of services may have an influence on policy. The question is, what issues motivate people sufficiently to express interests in a way which becomes apparent to those who exercise authority and control over welfare provision in the UK?

The evidence which was presented in Chapter Seven suggests that it is financial and distributive issues rather than the experience of consumption which have the most significant influence on the way that people evaluate the welfare state. This was indicated by differences in the salience of expenditure and participation issues among respondents to the Plymouth survey. Although the quantitative responses to the Likert items which dealt with participation suggested that respondents were dissatisfied with the experience of state welfare services, the unprompted comments which they made were infrequently expressed and relatively incoherent. This contrasted with the comments which were made by informants about resource and distributive issues. These were frequently expressed and lucid in content. By lucid, I mean that they had a logical structure which could be related to the socio-economic characteristics of the respondents who advanced them. This indicated that respondents had definite ideas about these issues, ideas which had probably been thought about prior to the time of interviewing.

Ideas relating to the expenditure dimension of social welfare in the UK were more salient. This is not surprising when it is considered that media coverage of welfare at the time of interviewing focussed almost exclusively on these issues. This was reported in Section Four of Chapter Three.

If people's ideas about welfare are important to their political behaviour, then it is ideas about resources and the distributive impact of the market and state activity which are most significant. In view of this, the thesis that a large proportion of the electorate including working class voters expressed support for the Thatcherite Conservatives at three general elections simply because they were disaffected from bureaucratic and paternalistic statist forms of welfare provision appears to be mistaken. It is consumption rather than the experience of consumption that counts.

Section Two. Social Class, Private Welfare and the 'Thatcher Revolution'

The notion that the welfare state had reached a watershed by the 1980s is a common theme of a large volume of social policy literature (OECD, 1981, Glennerster, 1983, Deacon, 1983, Walker, 1984, Mishra, 1984). Themes relating to private consumption in welfare (Saunders, 1984) and 'class de-alignment in voting behaviour (Dunleavy and Husbands, 1985) presented a picture of a society which was divided along unfamiliar lines. A substantial majority of the population, affluent and uninterested in the second rate services available from the state were adequately represented by the Conservatives. Conversely, a declining population of deprived households remained dependent on state services and continued to express support for what appeared to some observers to be an increasingly moribund Labour Party (Hobsbawm, 1983, Hall, 1982).

This is a view which has been enthusiastically advanced by Saunders, who sees in the expansion of working class owner occupation the development of a trend in which mass participation in private welfare will come to replace state provided welfare. He writes:

> 'As real household incomes rise, and as opportunities for achieving access to private services and health care are extended, so more and more consumers seem likely to exit from the state sector ... the emergence of mass home ownership is only the first step towards a mass privatized mode of consumption' (1990, p 335).

Saunders sees in such a development the basis for the extension of 'citizenship' and in this, his argument is similar to that which was advanced by Titmuss. The differences between the two lie in the sectoral bases of citizenship.

Section Two addresses two distinct but related problems. First, the capacity of the state to effect distributional outcomes which attenuate class based inequalities is considered. Second, the influence of the class structure on developments in welfare over time is demonstrated through the example of Conservative social policy in the 1980s.

On this basis, two arguments are developed. First it is argued that Saunders' account of the relationship between state policy and social stratification is flawed. To the extent that his analyses are similar to those of Titmuss, they involve similar problems. Titmuss argued that mass participation in state provided social services would enhance citizenship. Instead, class inequalities in the consumption of state provided social services emerged. Similar inequalities are evident in owner occupation.

Second, it is argued that writers such as Saunders have misread recent political and social policy developments. The social policies of the Thatcher government, although presented as being aimed at extending choice and efficiency in welfare, are in effect a sustained attempt to advance the welfare of the affluent and wealthy at the expense of welfare for lower income households. Social class is therefore central to the motivational bases of Thatcherite social policy.

i) Private welfare and citizenship.

To what extent, then, does private welfare provide the basis for a common experience of citizenship? It must be judged on the extent to which its impact is equal. This is a criterion that Marshall would have approved of since he used it to assess the citizenship enhancing capacity of state social services (Spicker, 1988, p 65).

Saunders' most recent work (1990) is an attempt to emphasize the homogeneity of owner occupiers in financial terms and in terms of the freedom and autonomy they experience.

Consider first the financial aspects of owner occupation. Many owner occupiers will or do realize capital gains through over mortgaging, through trading down or through the mechanism of inheritance. In response to the arguments of those whom he describes as 'left wing' sociologists, Saunders claims that capital gains are unrelated to household class. Furthermore, he emphasizes the

common nature of the financial experiences of owner occupiers. Evidence from his most recent survey is used to support these arguments.

First, he demonstrates that gross capital gains are associated with house values and not with social class (1990, p 180). Second, he demonstrates that the rates of return expressed in terms of gross and net capital gains as a percentage of the mortgage for manual households are 'every bit as good as those achieved by households in the higher social classes' (1990, p 181).

Clearly, this evidence does not accomplish what Saunders claims for it. For instance, an overwhelming volume of empirical studies demonstrate that house values and hence capital gains vary by household class (Boddy, 1980, p 142, Short, 1982, p 150, Forest, 1983, p 213, Edel et al, 1984, p 128, Doling et al, 1986, p 49, Sullivan, 1987, pp 42-3). Furthermore, owner occupiers aren't an homogeneous category simply because they achieve similar rates of return on their mortgages. Surely it is total gains (and hence wealth) which have the greatest significance for the welfare of households? Capital gains are not realized as rates of return but as total stocks of wealth. The size of these 'stocks' varies considerably among households.

Consider second the freedom and autonomy which owner occupiers enjoy. Whitehead breaks these down into a number of concrete freedoms; these are, the right to indefinite use, the right to modify, the ability to choose an appropriate price and method of payment and security of tenure, among others (Whitehead, 1979, p 41). However, Whitehead presents evidence which suggests that the quality of these rights and freedoms, when exercised, varies by household class. For instance, security of tenure depends very much on the level of households income and hence the ability to repay a substantial long term loan. Similarly, the right to modify becomes effective according to variations in household incomes. Whitehead concludes:

'there are advantages to being an owner occupier, but there are a lot more to being a relatively rich owner occupier' (1979, p 41).

In sum, these aspects of owner occupation do not provide the basis for a common experience of citizenship. The experience of owner occupation measured in terms of capital gains and freedom and autonomy varies according to household class. It is not surprising, therefore, that as the extension of owner occupation has progressed down the occupational ladder, social inequalities within the sector have increased. In this respect, Papadikis presents the growth of working class owner occupation as involving a transfer of inequalities between housing tenures to owner occupation (Papadikis and Taylor Gooby, 1987, p 175). If the aim of this government and the building societies to make even lower income owner occupation possible is met, such inequalities can be expected to increase. In view of this, the argument that shifts in sectoral boundaries are somehow conducive to the extension of citizenship and the development of new lines of social cleavage appears to be mistaken.

ii) Social Class and Conservative social policy.

Inequalities within owner occupation notwithstanding, to what extent does its' recent expansion provide an indication of the general direction in which welfare provision in the UK is heading? Is welfare provision in the UK at the point where, as Saunders believes, generalised state provision is diminishing to be replaced by mass participation in the private sector? The historical evidence suggests that the development of owner occupation is the exception and not the rule. Areas of state provision which contribute significantly to the welfare of middle class households have remained largely intact whilst services and benefits for the poor and deprived have been subject to fiscal restraint. This suggests that slogans such as 'freedom of choice' are simply public relations devices which are used to justify poorly stated intentions. A consideration of Conservative social policy over the last decade suggests that its' purpose is to effect a more unequal distribution of welfare in favour of the affluent and wealthy, and not to 'free' people from dependency and state coersion by extending access to private welfare. In order to substantiate this

claim, the impact of Conservative social policy in the 1980s is considered below in relation to household income, housing and health.

Changes in taxation and social security provision have had a polarizing effect which has reinforced class inequalities in the UK. First, these changes have benefitted the wealthy and to a lesser extent, the middle classes. Second, the manual working class and particularly its' poor and deprived sections have been net losers. The result has been an overall increase in income inequalities.

In 1988/89, taxpayers paid £20 billion less in income tax than in 1978/9. However, only seventeen per cent of this went to the bottom fifty per cent of households in the income distribution (Rentouel, 1989, Wright, 1989). Furthermore, the total burden of taxation for this section of the population increased as a result of positive changes in National Insurance contributions and VAT levels.

Recent government policy on local taxation looks set to mirror and reinforce this trend. In line with its' alleged ideological preference for cutting taxes on household incomes, and thereby extending the range of choice in welfare, this Conservative government has done its' best to set limits on rates levied by local authorities, particularly the high spending Labour authorities. However, the introduction of the 'Community Charge' has increased the tax bill for the average household, and in many cases considerably.

Generally, the 'Community Charge' is regressive simply because there was a positive relationship between rates and household income but not between the Community Charge and household income. This is confirmed by the distributional impact of the Community Charge in Scotland to date (Dunn, 1990, p 26).

However, there are more specific ways in which the poll tax is markedly regressive. Because of its wider net and the twenty per cent rule, low income households, households with an unemployed main wage earner, several adult households and non-householders will be particularly affected by the negative impact of the Community

Charge. It seems likely, then, that the distributional impact of the Community Charge will mirror the distributional direction of recent changes in national taxation in that it will involve gains for the wealthy, losses for households on average to slightly above average incomes and major losses for the poor and deprived.

A similar distributional impact has resulted from changes in social security provision, changes which appear to have made reductions in personal taxation for households in the highest income bands economically feasible (Alcock, 1983). First, benefits for the poor and deprived have been consistently eroded from the first Social Security Act 1980 (Alcock, 1981, 1983), through various rounds of upratings below the rate of inflation and changes in the bases of entitlement to benefits, culminating in the provisions of the 1988 Social Security Act. (Lister, 1989).

However, there is another and perhaps more significant sense in which welfare for the working class has been diminished and this results from the erosion of social rights which were guaranteed by National Insurance and other universal benefits. Most of the short term National Insurance benefits and Child Benefits have been effectively cut with the result that many eligible recipients have had to rely on means tested benefits such as supplementary benefit (now Income Support) and Family Income Supplement (now Family Credit). This has two advantages for a monetarist government. First, 'take up' for means tested benefits is lower (Phillipson, 1984). Second, it is politically much easier to reduce targetted benefit levels.

In addition, this government has made entitlement to state support among 16-17 year olds contingent on their participation in state sponsored training schemes. The nature of statements which have been made by government ministers suggests that this is a practice which they intend to extend. It is possible to see this development as having established the nascent elements of a workfare scheme in the UK.

Social security changes in the 1980s, then, have not simply involved immediate and effective cuts in benefits for the poor and deprived. They have generated a fiscal and legislative framework which will have a wider detrimental impact on the welfare of the working class. This will and does become apparent when its' members experience life's contingencies such as unemployment. In this respect, it is interesting to note that unemployment among skilled manual workers in the 1980s has, on average, been as high as unemployment levels among unskilled manual workers (Social Trends, 1990).

Conversely, the wealthy, and to a lesser extent, the middle classes have made net gains as a result of changes in national and local taxation. It is not surprising, therefore, that income inequalities have increased significantly during the 1980s (Hamnett, 1989 p 48).

Housing policy in the 1980s has resulted in a substantial contraction of the public sector of housing provision. This came about principally as a result of the substantial subsidies for council house purchasers which were introduced through the 1980, 1984 and 1986 Housing Acts (Papadikis and Taylor Gooby, 1987, p 150). These subsidies have encouraged approximately one million council tenants to purchase their homes. In this way manual households who have acquired a substantial holding of wealth appear to have been net gainers from this governments' housing policy.

The immediate losers, on the other hand, have been the poor and deprived who, unable to enter owner occupation, have experienced severely restricted housing opportunities. Between 1979/80 and 1984/5, current expenditure subsidies for local authority housing were reduced by central government by seventy nine per cent. Similarly, expenditure on new dwellings diminished by sixty eight per cent (Papadikis and Taylor Gooby, 1987, p 144). Furthermore, local authorities were prevented from using capital receipts to finance new starts. It is intended that the provisions of the 1988 Housing Act and specific provisions of the 1989 Local

Government and Housing Act will complete this process of contraction (Raynsford, 1989, p 94).

Combined with the unabated long term decline of the private rented sector, this contraction of public renting has resulted in a loss of a million rented dwellings. However, this loss has not been matched by a fall in demand with the result that homelessness has increased significantly (Raynsford, 1989, p 87).

Although the immediate impact of this has been felt among the poor and deprived, it has wider implications of a significant nature for working class households in that the 'social' rights of such households have been eroded. In contrast to the private sector, social housing is allocated according to need and not ability to pay. In this sense, it reduced the material insecurity of many working class households through a legislative framework which guaranteed the right (upon meeting specific eligibility criteria and depending on local conditions) to a home. By significantly shifting the boundaries between public renting and owner occupation, this government has more fully restored the principle of 'ability to pay' to allocative processes.

However, there are no long term guarantees about the ability of many working class households to pay. Life events which generate material insecurity, events such as relationship breakdown and unemployment, are all too common features of economic and social life in the UK of the 1990s. The substantial contraction of the public sector and the consequent erosion of social rights suggests that such events are likely to be much more hazardous for working class households. In view of this, housing policy in the 1980s has had both an immediate detrimental impact on the poor and deprived and long term consequences for the social rights and welfare of the working class as a whole.

The class implications of health policy in the 1980s are not so readily observable because the NHS has remained largely intact and the government has not been involved in subsidies for private participation in health insurance schemes to any significant extent.

However, a class impact is discernible, if only because the NHS has remained intact. This is significant because the NHS along with state education is an area of state welfare which is of central importance to non-manual households. Members of such households staff its professional and administrative echelons and derive substantial benefit from available services. It is significant that an area of state welfare which is of benefit to non-manual household has remained largely intact whilst another area of state welfare (housing provision) which is not has contracted in a substantial way.

However, there are two positive ways in which this government has prejudiced the interests of manual households in respect of health care. First, manual employment in the NHS has borne the brunt of cuts in spending and of privatization (Papadikis and Taylor Gooby, 1987, p 48). Second, prescription charges have increased substantially (Wright, 1989, p 24) and the full cost of ophthalmic and dental services now has to be met directly by households not in receipt of Income Support (Allsop, 1989, p 71). This can be expected to have a greater impact on manual households who have a relatively insecure financial situation (Social Trends, 1990, p 87).

Class inequalities in health status, which by the late 1970s were a significant feature of the social landscape (Townsend and Davidson, 1981), increased during the 1980s (Whitehead, 1987). Although it is difficult to quantify a direct relationship between this trend and government policy, if one accepts the putative relationship between environmental factors and health status, then it seems likely that a combination of economic, fiscal and social policies have influenced the diminishing life expectancy of manual workers (Wright, 1989, p 24).

It is these inequalities in health status which are implicated in the failure of private health insurance to extend beyond its' privileged middle class base of consumers. Much of the relatively substantial expansion of private health insurance which occurred during the early 1980s was accounted for by the growth of employer based group and company schemes and some these involved a small proportion of manual workers. However, it seems that the provident societies had not taken into account the inferior health status of

manual workers in their initial actuarial considerations with the result that subscriptions increased by up to 200 per cent upon renewal of policies (Laurance, 1983).

It is worth noting that in spite of its rhetoric about freedom of choice and the alleged virtues of the market in welfare, this government has done little to subsidize public participation in private health insurance schemes. There are two possible reasons for this. First, there is evidence to suggest that private health care is much more expensive to deliver than state provided health care (Maynard, 1982, p 158) particularly when its clients are manual workers and their dependents. Second, the attitudinal evidence which has been reviewed thus far indicates that non-manual households would be opposed to a policy of blanket subsidies for public participation in private health insurance. In view of this, it is possible to see middle class positionality as a significant factor in the course of social policy developments.

Government health policy in the 1980s, then, has favoured the middle classes by maintaining the structure of inequality in both public and private health care. Furthermore, the implementation of spending cuts, privatization and the introduction of charging are likely to have had a greater detrimental impact on the welfare of the working classes.

What, then, is the essence of the 'Thatcher Revolution'? This review does not support the view that Conservative social policy in the 1980s was primarily intended to enhance freedom of choice by curtailling the coercive and paternalistic activities of the state and by extending access to private welfare provision. This view probably results from an excessive focus on formal ideological debate and on the public pronouncements of cabinet ministers.

In contrast, the impact of Conservative social policy seems to be a better guide to the aims and intentions of Mrs Thatcher and her cabinet. This impact has followed a clear pattern involving the maintenance of areas of middle class privilege, the implementation of regressive taxation and the erosion of social rights, services and

benefits for lower income households. It is useful to situate these outcomes in the context of Conservative macro-economic and industrial relations policies. The consequence of these has been to shift the balance of power between workers and their employers in favour of the latter through the effects of deflation (Kaldor, 1982, Solow, 1987) and by effectively reducing the capacity of employees to advance their interests in the workplace (Johnson and Kahn, 1983). In view of this, it is possible to view Conservative social policy as part of a broader set of policies which have had the effect of shifting the distribution of income and wealth and the balance of power in society in favour of the affluent and wealthy.

If the private sector of welfare continues to expand, and at a much faster rate than at present, it is doubtful whether such a development would significantly enhance the welfare of many working class households, and for two reasons.

First, although a further expansion of private welfare would probably enhance the material situation of a proportion of affluent manual households, this would be welfare experienced under conditions of greater insecurity, particularly if the public sector declined concomitantly as a result. The market, unlike many areas of state provision, operates according to the principle of ability to pay and it provides no guarantees should this criterion not be met by individual households.

Second, the evidence on owner occupation indicates that a further expansion of private welfare would have the effect of transferring inequalities between sectors to the private sector. Social class is an enduring feature of social welfare in modern Britain, regardless of the balance between public and private provision. In other words, it is 'social' rather than 'sectoral' patterns of welfare that are important.

Section Three. Class, State and Social Policy

One of the central aims of the Plymouth study was to assess the significance of the attitudinal effects of sectoral patterns of welfare which are underpinned by state fiscal and institutional arrangements. This aim was implemented and the results were reported in Chapters Six and Eight. These results indicated that sectoral patterns of welfare such as mass participation in owner occupation or state provided health care have modest attitudinal effects for households in specific occupational groups. However, because social class is a major determinant of the distribution of welfare in the UK, it is also the major influence on the way in which attitudes to welfare are generated. In other words, patterns of welfare generate ideological effects, but is social rather than sectoral patterns that are important.

The evidence is reviewed in three sections below. First, the significance of the attitudinal effects of sectoral patterns of welfare is assessed. Second, working class interests and attitudes are discussed and related to debates about the nature of the current political conjuncture in the UK. Third middle class attitudes and interests are reviewed and related to the policy developments which were discussed in the previous section of the paper.

i) The state.

To what extent, then, do state generated or facilitated patterns of interest have the capacity to influence practical developments in the politics of welfare via their influence on patterns of consciousness? It was noted, in Chapter Two, that Titmuss saw great potential in the capacity of public policy to modify behavioural outcomes. He emphasized the importance of 'organized altruism' embodied in the provision of universal social services by the state. Participation in these would generate 'ultra obligations' or behaviour based on a sense of moral principle (Titmuss, 1970, p 212). More specifically, it would encourage acceptance of the principle of the 'unilateral transfer' among affluent and relatively privileged households (Boulding, 1973, p 193).

In contrast to these lofty ideals, the attitudinal consequences of owner occupation, for Saunders, are limited. By meeting people's 'deep and natural desires' (1990, p 69) and by giving people a 'stake in the country' (1990, p 120), participation in owner occupation encourages conservatism among working class households.

These arguments were supported by some of the data which were generated by the Plymouth survey. First, manual and non-manual respondents shared in common a preference for more spending on the NHS. Second, involvement in private consumption increased the liklihood that manual respondents would evaluate inequalities in income and housing in a positive light.

However, the wider picture which was generated by the Plymouth survey data did not support the argument that state generated or facilitated patterns of interest have assumed a position of greater importance than social class in terms of their influence on patterns of consciousness. For instance, significant class differences involving a distinction between manual and non-manual households were apparent in responses to a range of Likert items which dealt with issues in health care. This reflects the fact that social class is related to 'access' in the NHS (Walters, 1980). If the distributive impact of the service does involve unilateral transfers, they do not flow in the direction which was envisaged by Titmus.

In view of this support for the NHS among middle class households can be seen as a product of narrow self interest and not as an expression of 'ultra-obligations'.

Similarly, the influence of private consumption on working class attitudes was modest when class was controlled for. The overall class effect was much stronger. Again, this probably reflects the fact that social class is related to access in owner occupation. Working class owner occupiers may have a 'stake in the country' but it is generally quite small when compared to the situation of middle class households.

The evidence suggests that it is a mistake to use shifts in sectoral boundaries within areas of welfare provision as a guide to patterns of interests and bases of political mobilization. However, because sectoral patterns of welfare do have a limited influence on patterns of consciousness, they can be seen as an 'additional' source of values which may or may not become operational according to the nature of the specific political conjuncture. For instance, one of the factors underlying this governments failure to effect a radical reduction in the scope of state provided health care may be the possibility of opposition from middle class households in pursuit of their interests. Again, middle class positionality appears to have had important consequences for policy.

Social class on the other hand has a central and enduring importance. Furthermore, the way in which it is associated with patterns of consciousness contributes to an explanation of the development of social welfare provision in the UK.

ii) Working class interests and attitudes.

A large volume of theoretical studies of the development of welfare provision emphasize the central importance of the 'working class' in this process (Saville, 1957, Milliband, 1973, Gough, 1979, Ginsburg, 1979). Marxists have presented the struggle for social welfare as an adjunct of wages struggles, state welfare being the 'social wage' component. This is a useful starting point as it indicates that the working class has an interest in 'more' welfare provided directly or financed by the state. Clearly, this interest and the political pressure it has generated has resulted in social policy developments which have favoured the working class at different points in history. However, there are two problems with this crude representation of the link between structure, consciousness and action. First, it provides no indication of the specific interests and preferences that working class people have in relation to specific patterns of welfare. This has been an enduring point of confusion among British sociologists particularly in view of recurring debates about the consequences of working class affluence and privatism.

Second, it doesn't take account of the way in which intra-class divisions may shape interests and preferences for policy.

The results of the Plymouth survey pointed to a clear costellation of working class interests which are reflected in patterns of consciousness. This was unaffected by the class classification scheme which was used to assign respondents to particular groups although the Registrar Generals' occupational class scheme appeared to be a better overall predictor of attitudes. An attitudinal cleavage dividing manual from non-manual respondents was the most consistent and significant pattern to emerge from the analyses of the Plymouth survey data. Furthermore, this cleavage centred on the issue of inequalities in welfare and particularly inequalities in income, housing and health care.

The principal intra class division centred on the issue of unemployment. For instance, a large majority of respondents in occupational classes four and five favoured the unemployed and were opposed to policies which would jeopardize their interests. This contrasted with the responses of a majority of respondents from skilled manual households. This was reinforced by the qualitative data which indicated that the unemployed were seen as 'lazy' and unwilling to look for work. The historical evidence indicates that such views have a long pedigree, providing the basis for a significant division within the working class from the 1834 Poor Law to the present day (Mann, 1984, 1986, Wetherly, 1988). In view of this, it is not surprising that the Thatcher government has been able to reduce benefits for the unemployed and to establish the nascent elements of a workfare scheme without encountering serious opposition from the Labour Movement. As Mann points out, state social policy has always been able to build on divisions within the working class (1986, p 69).

Occupational class differences underpinned the qualitative responses to a significant number of Likert items and again, those items which dealt with the possibility or actuality of distributional conflict over relative shares in the consumption of welfare. In the main, informants from manual households advanced explanations of

deprivation and inequality which emphasized powerlessness and a lack of choice on the part of those affected. Manual informants were enthusiastic about proposals for state intervention to effect a more egalitarian course of distribution in the three areas of welfare provision. Furthermore, this enthusiasm for equality applied to both the public and private sectors of welfare. In this respect, Thatchers' public insistence on the virtues of private welfare may have had the effect of increasing public awareness of inequalities in this sector.

Unlike societies in which there are extreme inequalities in the distribution of income and wealth, the coercive agencies of the state in the UK are held in check. The government of people proceeds on a relatively democratic basis. Accordingly, the current of popular ideas define the limits of what is feasible in specific political conjunctures. The arguments which have been advanced by Saunders, Pahl and other writers present a picture of an affluent, deradicalized working class majority which no longer has an affinity with policies based on the attainment of equality and re-distribution. Such a situation would clearly necessitate a major re-orientation to the centre on the part of the Labour Party. Neil Kinnock may have been referring to such a necessity when he affirmed that: 'we now have to appeal to dockers earning £300 a week and owning a villa in Marbella' (Quoted in Saunders, 1990, p 209). The Plymouth survey data indicated that ideas which centre on equality and re-distribution have a strong resonance among working class households and therefore, a powerful mobilizing capacity. The problem for the left, therefore, lies not so much in the nature of working class values but in its' failure to mobilize these values.

iii) Middle class interests and attitudes.

At particular points in history, working class interests have been mobilized with a positive effect on the development of welfare policy. However, it is clear from the evidence on inequalities in welfare and on the class impact of recent Conservative social policy that working class interests are not always the principal consideration

of those who have the responsibility for framing and implementing state social policy.

Typically, Marxists have explained developments in social policy which are anti-thetical to the interests of the working class or sections of it in terms of the state attending to the 'needs of capital' (O'Connor, 1973, Gough, 1979, Ginsburg, 1979). However, whilst capitalist economic imperatives may be a powerful influence on decision making in government circles, they do not explain the forms which state social policies sometimes take. For instance, there seems to be no good reason why a social service should be provided directly by the state or provided privately and subsidized by the state from the standpoint of capital accumulation.

This leads to a consideration of the way in which the non-poor and particularly the middle classes benefit from state welfare programmes. Under some of the most standard definitions of the purposes of state welfare, the middle classes are not supposed to benefit from it (Le Grand, 1982, Goodin and Le Grand, 1987). Clearly, these definitions are at variance with the reality of welfare provision in the UK. The middle classes benefit from the welfare state as both providers and users of services. The welfare state therefore reflects and reinforces inequalities which are generated through the class structure.

Because the middle classes have a powerful and privileged position vis a vis welfare in the UK, a consideration of their specific interests provides an indication of the forces which promote and inhibit particular forms of welfare.

Because of this relative privilege, the notion of 'positionality' is central to middle class interests and motivations vis a vis welfare services and benefits. Positionality refers to the efforts which are made by the privileged to secure and preserve their consumption of goods and services which confer status as a result of their relative scarcity (Hirsch, 1976, Ellis and Heath, 1983). However, the notion of positionality has been extended to describe the efforts which are made to secure and maintain privileged consumption in areas of

welfare to which lower income households may also have access (Hindess, 1987, p 81, Goodin and Le Grand, 1987, p 4, Papadikis and Taylor Gooby, 1987, p 178). The NHS and state provided education are cases in point.

The results of the Plymouth survey indicated that non-manual households have an extremely keen sense of positional awareness and this emerged in a number of different ways. First, the evidence indicated that middle class households are defensive about their participation in certain forms of state welfare such as the NHS and housing subsidies. It is unlikely, therefore, that these areas of welfare will be eroded in the near future, even though the present Conservative government has a policy preference for targetting social services and benefits on those who need them. As Will points out, 'hell hath no fury like that of the middle classes when its' subsidies are at issue' (International Herald Tribune, 11 December 1984). Of course, middle class resistance to the erosion of its privileges is as much a problem for Labour as it is for the Conservatives. The middle classes therefore represent an obstacle of formidable proportions to a government intent on implementing redistributive social policies.

Second, the evidence indicates that the middle classes are in favour of limited and privileged access to private welfare provision. A large majority of informants from non-manual households were opposed to proposals for subsidies which would enable low income households to participate in the private sector. It seems unlikely, therefore, that this government will initiate further policies which would make such participation possible. Whilst it is true that limited subsidies for the consumption of private health insurance and private pensions have been made available, middle class households have been the main beneficiaries of these (Keegan, 1990). Specific subsidies for working class owner occupation were an exception because these were necessary to effect a substantial contraction of the public sector of housing provision. Moreover, these subsidies haven't eroded the privileged situation of middle class households within owner occupation.

Third, the evidence indicates that middle class households are opposed to state expenditure on egalitarian measures aimed at improving the quality of life for the poor and deprived. In this respect, middle class expectations accord with the distributive impact of the Thatcher governments' fiscal and social policies.

Further points of congruence between this governments' approach to welfare and middle class attitudes were indicated by the ideological patterning of the qualitative responses. In particular, non-manual respondents tended to explain inequality and deprivation in individual terms. These explanations centred on alleged inequalities in the distribution of individual effort, initiative and personal attributes such as 'intelligence'. Affluent households were seen as deserving the fruits of their labour. Conversely, the poor and deprived were seen as complaining too much and it was suggested that more effort was required on the part of those concerned. For those not prepared to make this effort an inferior and underfunded form of public welfare such as state provided housing was appropriate.

It was not surprising therefore, to learn that these ideas had been effectively mobilized by the Conservative Party, at least in Plymouth. This was indicated by the analyses of the local election data which were presented in Chapter Four. During the decade in which the welfare of middle class households was advanced at the expense of welfare for lower income households, support for the Conservative Party among non-manual households increased significantly. The same was not true of working class support for the Labour Party. However, the evidence indicates that the problem here lies not so much in the nature of working class values but in the absence of appropriate mobilizing activity. Whilst the Labour Party is the party of the working class in Plymouth, the 'full' potential for mobilizing working class values has not been realized. This probably results from the fact that the Labour Party continues to maintain a balance between the interests of its' middle and working class supporters in its' public statements on policy and objectives. In this respect, Stedman Jones (1983) provides an illuminating

historical account of the influence that the professional middle classes have had on the priorities and social policies of the Labour Party.

Section Four. Class and Inequalities in the 1990s

Social class, then, is the major determinant of access to welfare in the UK. The major shifts in the sectoral boundaries of welfare which have been effected by governments over the course of the post war period have achieved little in terms of attenuating class inequalities in welfare. Their effects on patterns of stratification in the UK have been minor. Accordingly, theories of stratification such as those advanced by Saunders (1990), Dunleavy (1985), and Pahl (1984) are misleading. British society remains divided along familiar lines. This is reflected in attitudinal cleavages which centre of issues related to social inequalities and distributive conflict over relative shares in welfare. This being so, the problem facing the two major political parties involves a consideration of how they can appeal to the wider electorate without alienating those households that would ordinarily express support for them.

However, class inequalities in the UK were exacerbated during the 1980s as a result of Conservative fiscal and social policies. The impact of this was most obvious at the poles of the class structure as indicated by the review of Conservative policy which was presented in Section Two. This section is speculative in that it presents an account of the possibilities regarding the nature of inequality in the UK at the end of this decade. This account is based on an assessment of i) the intentions of the two major parties for social policy and ii) a consideration of a number of socio-economic factors which may serve to obstruct the path of policy implementation.

It isn't necessary to dwell for too long on the implications of a further ten years of Conservative rule as it is certain that inequalities in the UK would be more pronounced at the end of this period. This can be inferred from the nature of Conservative social policy during the 1980s and from the nature of the fiscal and legislative framework which was established by the end of this decade. The provisions of the 1988 Housing Act and no doubt of Acts to come will lead to a further contraction of public sector housing whilst failing to bring into effect an expansion of private

renting (Ginsburg, 1988, Raynsford, 1989). Homelessness and poor housing conditions will therefore become more prevalent.

Further, it seems likely that income inequalities will deepen. The regressive impact of the 'Community Charge' is taking effect and if past record can be regarded as a useful guide to future developments, the contribution of wealthy households to national taxation will continue to diminish. Poverty and deprivation will increase as a result of further cuts in social security benefit levels. In this respect, the framework which has been established as a result of the shift from universal to targetted benefits which got underway in the 1980s will make it easier for these cuts to be implemented.

However, the scope of inequality by the end of the 1990s, will also depend on the extent to which this Conservative government is able to further erode universal state provision such as child benefit and the NHS. Moreover, this will depend on the extent to which the proposals and policies which are aimed at reducing expenditure in these areas generate opposition from middle class households. In this respect, there can be no doubt that middle class households are eager to maintain their status as privileged users of services such as the NHS. This was indicated by the results of the Plymouth survey. At this stage, it seems unlikely that this Conservative government will find it possible to substantially reduce the scope of the NHS although it will almost certainly implement further penny pinching fiscal restraint and possibly charges for specific services. Similarly this government has been unable to implement its intention to abolish child benefit, although its value has been effectively reduced. In this respect, the more its value to middle class households is reduced, the easier it will become to abolish it entirely.

If social inequalities look set to deepen as a result of a further ten years of Conservative social policy, what are the prospects for equality under a Labour Government? In Part One of a recent report of its' policy review, the Labour Party affirms its commitment to a version of social justice which is based on the attainment of greater equality. More specifically, it is affirmed that 'economic

power and freedom are inextricably linked' (Labour Party, 1989a, p 4). Accordingly, the Labour Party is 'committed to the re-distribution of wealth and power' (1989, p 4). Further it is envisaged that the vehicle of the state will be used to implement this goal. In other words, Labour Party thinking on distributive matters is underpinned by a positive conception of freedom which is to be enhanced by bringing into effect greater equality through purposive state intervention.

The expressed commitment to greater equality in the UK is therefore uniquivocal. However, two considerations in particular suggest that an efficient implementation of this goal during the 1990s is a doubtful prospect. The first centres on an assessment of the practical policy intentions which may serve to obstruct the path of equalitarian reform in the UK.

In practical terms, the attainment of greater equality is, for the Labour Party, a contingent goal. Many of its' proposals for increases in social expenditure are to become effective under conditions of increased and sustained economic growth only. This cautious approach was advocated by Crosland (1956) when he argued that equalitarian social policies could hope to avoid political disaster only if the absolute income levels of middle class households were not reduced as a result.

This growth is to be secured through a 'medium term industrial strategy' (1989, pp 1-6) involving greater state regulation and major investments in employment training and research development. However, the policy document may be over-optimistic in its assessment of the prospects for growth, and for two reasons. First, like Crosland, the document over-estimates the capacity of government to direct the economy. Factors such as the unusual reliance of the British economy on international trade (Hindess, 1987) and the power of multi-national corporations to direct investment (Holland, 1975) lie outside of the control of the British government. Second, although major problems such as a significant balance of trade deficit have been exacerbated by the deflationary policies of the Thatcher government, it is necessary to situate them in the context

of the long term overall decline in the international competitiveness of British capitalism. The history of post-war economic policy in the UK can be seen as a series of failed attempts to rectify this situation via a range of policy instruments (Harrison and Glyn, 1979, Aaronovitch, 1981). Maybe the 'medium term financial strategy' can improve on this performance, when implemented, thereby generating the conditions of growth in which Labour believes equalitarian social policies can be implemented?

However, a more important point of evaluation is based on a pessimistic assessment of the potential for achieving a significant degree of equality in the UK in the 1990s under a Labour government in conditions of growth. This pessimism results from two considerations.

First, when the yardstick of equality (Tawney, 1931, Crossland, 1956, Le Grand, 1982) is applied, the proposals for housing finance, health care and education are singularly unremarkable. For instance, state subsidies for high income owner occupiers are to continue. Further, there is no discussion of the need (according to some authors) to equalize the distributive impact of state provided health care and education. It is simply affirmed that these services will continue to be 'allocated throughout the country irrespective of the purchasing power of those who receive such services' (1989a, p 10). This has always been the putative goal of these services, if not the practice. However, and in fairness, it cannot simply be assumed from a perusal of these proposals that the beneficial involvement of the middle classes in the welfare state will continue as now under a future Labour government. The policy document is, ultimately, an electoral device and it would be naive to see its contents as an entirely accurate guide to the intentions of the Labour Party leadership in office.

However, if it is assumed for the sake of argument that the policy intentions are more equalitarian than the proposals indicate, it becomes necessary to specify the significant obstacles which may stand in the path of their implementation. These obstacles result

from the entrenched privileged position of middle class households in the income distribution and the welfare state. The evidence on middle class positionality which was presented in Chapter Seven indicates that middle class households are opposed to policies aimed at reducing relative differences in the distribution of income. In this respect, Labours' proposals for income and social security, which involve a certain amount of 'levelling up', may flounder on the rock of middle class positionality. Furthermore, middle class households are opposed to policies which would have the effect of making the impact of the NHS and state education more equal. In view of this, it would be judicious to regard the equalitarian potential of Labours' plans for social welfare with a certain amount of circumspection. Notwithstanding, these plans seem likely to produce a greater degree of class equality in the distribution of welfare resources between households in the UK than another ten years of Conservative fiscal and social policy.

This review of the approaches of the Conservative and Labour Parties to social welfare indicates that neither will achieve its goals to the desired extent. In view of this, it is possible to locate the extent of class inequality in Britain at the turn of the century within a small band of possibilities ranging from very unequal (which on all indices characterized the UK in the 1960/70s) to the extremely unequal situation which is currently developing under the Conservatives. The outcome of the next general election will decide which of these scenarios emerges.

It is clear that the guiding factions of the two major political parties are informed by different and opposed conceptions of 'social justice'. In their pure forms, one emphasizes a minimal role for the state the maintenance of property rights and the allocation of resources through private transactions (Spicker, 1988, pp 137-39) whilst the other is based on a positive conception of freedom involving state intervention and re-distribution (Brown, 1986, pp 59-60). Each could be expected to have a radically different impact on the class structure of the UK if efficiently implemented through state social policy.

However, in exhorting governments and political parties to formulate their policies around specific normative systems, it seems that political philosophers have not taken into full account the obstacles that are likely to obstruct the implementation of such policies. It is clear that some of these obstacles are generated by the class structure itself. For instance, the beneficial involvement of middle class households in the welfare state is a significant impediment to the systematic application of these ultimate distributional values in state social policy.

In view of this, should normative approaches to social justice be seen as 'loose guides' to policy to be shelved when political circumstances dictate or as blueprints for the social order? Those who adopt the approach of compromise can claim the authority of being in touch with social and political realities. Conversely, those who advocate a strict application of values can justifiably claim that compromise doesn't resolve important distributive issues in the long term. In this respect, it can be affirmed that ideas that relate to inequality, freedom and distributive justice are not simply the product of feverish but erudite imaginations. They have a practical and meaningful relevance among households in the wider society. In view of this, it is beholden upon those who argue for a strict application of moral principles in distributive processes to resolve the tension between the need for such an application and the obstacles to sustained reform which are generated by these distributive processes.

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APPENDIX A.

Table Sixty Eight

Occupational Class, Consumption Sector and Responses to ATT2

(People complain too much about poverty)

Household Class X1	Consumption Sector X2	N		Agree ATT2	Effect of Independent Variable X1	X2
Step one						
Non-manual		69	%	78	60	
Manual		73	%	18		
	Private	81	%	63		41
	Public	53	%	22		
*Step two						
Non-manual	Private	56	%	83		33
	Public	4	%	50	65	
	Private	25	%	18	34	
Manual						2
	Public	48	%	16		

* 10 missing observations resulting from coding errors.

Table Sixty Nine

Occupational class, consumption sector and responses to ATT3
(People on high incomes get too much out of the NHS)

Household Class X1	Consumption Sector X2	N		Agree ATT3	Effect of Independent Variable X1	X2
Step one						
Non-manual		69	%	38	37	
Manual		73	%	75		
	Private	81	%	46		23
	Public	53	%	69		
*Step two						
Non-manual	Private	56	%	30		20
	Public	4	%	50	50	
Manual	Private	25	%	80	23	13
	Public	48	%	73		

* 10 missing cases resulting from coding errors.

Table Seventy

Occupational class, consumption sector and responses to ATT5
(The social seclurity system has a fair complaints procedure)

Household Class X1	Consumption Sector X2	N		Agree ATT3	Effect of Independent Variable X1	X2
Step one						
Non-manual		69	%	39	35	
Manual		73	%	4		
	Private	81	%	31		23
	Public	53	%	8		
*Step two						
Non-manual	Private	56	%	45		20
	Public	4	%	25	41	
Manual	Private	25	%	4	19	2
	Public	48	%	6		

* 10 missing cases resulting from coding errors.

Table Seventy One

Occupational class, consumption sector and responses to ATT6
(Tenants complain too much about their landlords)

Household Class X1	Consumption Sector X2	N		Agree ATT6	Effect of Independent Variable X1	X2
Step one						
Non-manual		69	%	44	42	
Manual		73	%	2		
	Private	81	%	31		29
	Public	53	%	2		
*Step two						
Non-manual	Private	56	%	45	41	45
	Public	4	%	0		
Manual	Private	25	%	4	2	2
	Public	48	%	2		

* 10 missing observations resulting from coding errors.

Table Seventy Two

Occupational class, employment status and responses to ATT2
(People complain too much about poverty)

Household Class X1	Consumption Sector X2	N		Agree ATT2	Effect of Independent Variable X1	X2
Step one						
Non-manual		69	%	78	60	
Manual		73	%	18		
	Not Unemployed	110	%	55		46
	Unemployed	33	%	9		
Step two						
Non-manual	Not Unemployed	67	%	79	60	29
	Unemployed	2	%	50		
Manual	Not Unemployed	42	%	19	33	2
	Unemployed	31	%	17		

Table Seventy Three

Occupational class, employment status and responses to ATT3
(People on high incomes get too much out of the NHS)

Household Class X1	Consumption Sector X2	N		Agree ATT3	Effect of Independent Variable X1	X2
Step one						
Non-manual		69	%	38	37	
Manual		73	%	75		
	Not Unemployed	110	%	57		3
	Unemployed	33	%	54		
Step two						
Non-manual	Not Unemployed	67	%	37	53	13
	Unemployed	2	%	50		
Manual	Not Unemployed	42	%	90	5	35
	Unemployed	31	%	55		

Table Seventy Four

Occupational class, employment status and responses to ATT5
(The social security system has a fair complaints procedure)

Household Class X1	Consumption Sector X2	N		Agree ATT5	Effect of Independent Variable X1	X2
Step one						
Non-manual		69	%	39	35	
Manual		73	%	4		
	Not Unemployed	110	%	26		20
	Unemployed	33	%	6		
Step two						
Non-manual	Not Unemployed	67	%	40	37	40
	Unemployed	2	%	0		
Manual	Not Unemployed	42	%	3	6	3
	Unemployed	31	%	6		

Table Seventy Five

Occupational class, employment status and responses to ATT6
(People who rent their homes complain too much about their landlords)

Household Class X1	Consumption Sector X2	N		Agree ATT6	Effect of Independent Variable X1	X2
Step one						
Non-manual		69	%	44	42	
Manual		73	%	2		
	Not Unemployed	110	%	27		24
	Unemployed	33	%	3		
Step two						
Non-manual	Not Unemployed	67	%	44	41	44
	Unemployed	2	%	0		
Manual	Not Unemployed	42	%	3	3	0
	Unemployed	31	%	3		

Table Seventy Six

Social class, consumption sector and responses to ATT2
(People complain too much about poverty)

Household Class X1	Consumption Sector X2	N		Agree ATT2	Effect of Independent Variable X1	X2
Step one						
CCL		53	%	75	51	
Workers		80	%	24		
	Private	81	%	63		41
	Public	53	%	22		
*Step two						
CCL	Private	45	%	82		45
	Public	8	%	37	63	
Workers	Private	26	%	19	17	1
	Public	45	%	20		

* Nine missing observations resulting from coding errors.

Table Seventy Seven

Social class, consumption sector and responses to ATT3
(People People on high incomes get too much out of the NHS)

Household Class X1	Consumption Sector X2	N		Agree ATT3	Effect of Independent Variable X1	X2
Step one						
CCL		53	%	35	36	
Workers		80	%	71		
	Private	81	%	46		23
	Public	53	%	69		
*Step two						
CCL	Private	45	%	31		31
	Public	8	%	62	38	
Workers	Private	26	%	69	9	2
	Public	45	%	71		

* Nine missing observations resulting from coding errors.

The Pattern of Occupational Class Divisions in Responses to the Likert Items.

	Area of Welfare	Cramers V	Principal Cleavage
The government should do more to help those on low incomes to get private pesnion schemes	Income	0.792	1
The government should do more to help low income families get private medical treatment	Health	0.779	1
Private medical care gives people an unfair advantage	Health	0.744	1
The government should do more to help low income families to buy their own homes	Housing	0.692	1
Benefits for the unemployed are too low and cause hardship	Income	0.689	3
It is very important that council tenants have more control over the way their estates are managed	Housing	0.683	1
Basically, people get the sort of housing they deserve	Housing	0.663	1
Ordinary people need more information about the way the social security system works	Income	0.647	1
People complain too much about poverty	Income	0.634	1
Council rents are too low and should be increased	Housing	0.623	1
The government does the best it can to inform people of their rights to benefits	Income	0.621	2
People who receive social security benefits should be encouraged to work for them	Income	0.615	3

Benefits for the unemployed are too high and discourage people from finding jobs	Income	0.614	1
The NHS has a fair complaints procedure	Health	0.612	2
Government subsidies for high income homeowners are unfair	Housing	0.602	2
Spending on the NHS has gone too far and should be cut back	Health	0.602	2
People who receive unemployment benefits are treated like second class citizens	Income	0.584	2
Families on high income get too much out of the NHS	Health	0.584	1
The government knows what is best for people who receive social security benefits	Income	0.580	3
The social security system has a fair complaints procedure	Income	0.571	2
People complain too much about homelessness and bad housing conditions	Housing	0.571	1
The sale of council housing should not be allowed	Housing	0.557	1
People who rent their homes complain too much about their landlords	Housing	0.539	1
The social security system interferes too much in people's lives	Income	0.531	1
The NHS takes too much responsibility for the care of elderly people	Health	0.510	1
It is important that doctors and consultants have the biggest say in the way the NHS is run	Health	0.499	2

Most people would prefer to have a private pension scheme as this would allow more choice	Income	0.498	2
The way in which the social secruity system is run is satisfactory	Income	0.475	3
It is important that income wealth be redistributed in favour of the poor	Income	0.465	3
People who leave work of their own accord should not be entitled to benefits	Income	0.422	1
People who receive social security benefits complain too much about the servies they get	Income	0.428	3

Coding for the Occupational Class Divisions:

Manual / Non-Manual	=	1
I, II/IIIN, IIIM, IV, V	=	2
I, II, IIIN, IIIM/IV, V	=	3

APPENDIX B THE QUESTIONNAIRE

POLYTECHNIC SOUTH WEST

DEPARTMENT OF APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCE

INTRODUCTION

Good morning/afternoon/evening (AS APPROPRIATE), I'm a research assistant at Plymouth Polytechnic and I am doing a questionnaire about the welfare state. I wonder if you would mind going through one with me.

S/T = Skip To

Q.1	How old are you? (RECORD)	Code
Q.2	Are you currently in paid full time employment? If not, what do you do? (RING CODE) WORK FULL-TIME 1 WORK PART-TIME 2 SEEKING WORK 3 RETIRED 4 STUDENT 5 HOUSEWIFE 6 OTHER 7	
Q.3	Do you have any dependent children living at home? (RECORD NUMBER AND AGES IF YES)	

			CODE	S/1
Q. 4	Do you own or rent this home?	OWN	1	
		RENT	2	9
Q. 5	Is this home	owned outright?	1	
		or being bought with mortgage	2	
Q. 6	Did the present owner rent before deciding to by			
		YES	1	
		NO	2	8
Q. 7	Who From?			
		LOCAL AUTHORITY	1	
		HOUSING ASSOCIATION	2	
		PROPERTY COMPANY	3	
		PRIVATE INDIVIDUAL	4	
Q. 8	Has the present owner undertaken any work on the home with a loan? (RECORD NATURE OF WORK AND SOURCE OF LOAN)			
Q. 9	Who is this accommodation rented from?			
		LOCAL AUTHORITY		
		HOUSING ASSOCIATION		
		PROPERTY COMPANY		
		PRIVATE INDIVIDUAL		

		CODE	S/T
Q.10	(GIVE CARD A) Here is a list of statements which express views about housing. I want you to read through them and then for each one tell me whether you "strongly agree", "agree", "disagree", "strongly disagree" or "don't know".		

	Stongly Agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
a)	1	2	3	4	5
b)	5	4	3	2	1
c)	1	2	3	4	5
d)	5	4	3	2	1
e)	1	2	3	4	5
f)	5	4	3	2	1
g)	1	2	3	4	5
h)	5	4	3	2	1
i)	1	2	3	4	5
j)	5	4	3	2	1
k)	1	2	3	4	5
l)	5	4	3	2	1
m)	1	2	3	4	5
n)	5	4	3	2	1
o)	1	2	3	4	5
p)	5	4	3	2	1
q)	1	2	3	4	5
r)	5	4	3	2	1
s)	1	2	3	4	5
t)	5	4	3	2	1

Q.11 During the last year, apart from any visists to the hospital did you or any member of your family talk to a doctor for any reason at all, either in person or by telephone (RING CODE)

YES	1
NO	2

a) How many times and on whose behalf?

(RECORD DETAILS)

		CODE	S/T
Q.12	During the last year did you attend as a patient the casualty or outpatient department of a hospital (RING CODES) YES 1 NO 2 a) How many times? (RECORD DETAILS)		
Q.13	During the last year, have you been a patient at a hosptial overnight or longer? (RING CODE) YES 1 NO 2 a) How many times? (RECORD DETAILS)		
Q.14	(GIVE CARD B) - Here is a list of statements, each of which expresses a view about health care. Read through them and then for each one tell me whether you "strongly agree", "agree", "disagree", "strongly disagree" or "don't know". (RING CODES)		

	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree
a)	1	2	3	4	5
b)	5	4	3	2	1
c)	1	2	3	4	5
d)	5	4	3	2	1
e)	1	2	3	4	5
f)	5	4	3	2	1
g)	1	2	3	4	5
h)	5	4	3	2	1
i)	1	2	3	4	5
j)	5	4	3	2	1
k)	1	2	3	4	5
l)	5	4	3	2	1
m)	1	2	3	4	5
n)	5	4	3	2	1
o)	1	2	3	4	5
p)	5	4	3	2	1
q)	1	2	3	4	5
r)	5	4	3	2	1
s)	1	2	3	4	5
t)	5	4	3	2	1

CODE | S/T

SECTION TWO - SOCIAL SECURITY

Q.15 (GIVE CARD C)
Are you receiving or have you received during the last year any of the following social security benefits?
(RING APPROPRIATE NUMBERS)

a)	Child benefit	1
b)	Family Income Supplement	2
c)	National Insurance Retirement Pension	3
d)	Supplementary Pension	4
e)	Supplementary Benefit	5
f)	N.I. Sickness Benefit	6
g)	Unemployment Benefit	7
h)	Housing Benefit	8
i)	State Earnings Related Pension	9
j)	Maternity Allowance	10
k)	Attendence Allowance	11
l)	Invalidity Care Allowance	12

HAS or IS a member of your family received/receiving any of these benefits during the last year?
(RING APPROPRIATE NUMBER(

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

Q.16 Are you involved in any of the following schemes?
(RING CODES)

Mortgage protection scheme	1
Private Health Insurance	2
Life Insurance	3

Q. 17 (GIVE CARD D)

Here is a list of statements which express views about social security provision. I want you to read through them first and then tell me for each one whether you "stongly agree" "agree", "disagree", "strongly disagree" or "don't know". (RING CODES)

	Stongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree
a)	1	2	3	4	5
b)	5	4	3	2	1
c)	1	2	3	4	5
d)	5	4	3	2	1
e)	1	2	3	4	5
f)	5	4	3	2	1
g)	1	2	3	4	5
h)	5	4	3	2	1
i)	1	2	3	4	5
j)	5	4	3	2	1
k)	1	2	3	4	5
l)	5	4	3	2	1
m)	1	2	3	4	5
n)	5	4	3	2	1
o)	1	2	3	4	5
p)	5	4	3	2	1
q)	1	2	3	4	5
r)	5	4	3	2	1
s)	1	2	3	4	5
t)	5	4	3	2	1

SECTION THREE - IMAGES OF WELFARE

Now I am going to give you a number of cards which contain ideas about various aspects of the welfare state.

(continued on next sheet)

		CODE	S/T
Q. 18	(GIVE CARD E) This card lists ideas about government welfare provision, that is, the idea that everyone pays taxes so that services and benefits can be given to those who need them. Can you tell me what you feel about the ideas on this card by saying where you stand on each line. (RING CODES)		
a)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
b)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
c)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
d)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
e)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
f)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
g)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
h)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
i)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
Q.19	(GIVE CARD F) This card lists ideas about choice in welfare provision, that is, the idea that people who use welfare services can choose the sort of service they want. For instance, people could choose to use private medicine instead of NDS. Can you tell me what you think about these ideas by telling me where you stand on each line. (RING CODES)		
a)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
b)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
c)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
d)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
e)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
f)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
g)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
h)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
i)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		

		CODE	S/
Q.20	(GIVE CARD G) This card lists ideas about participation in the welfare state, that is, the idea that people who use welfare services can have a say in the way the service works. Can you tell me what you think about these ideas by telling me where you stand on each line. (RING CODES)		
a)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
b)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
c)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
d)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
e)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
f)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
g)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
h)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
i)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		
	SECTION FOUR - INDEPENDANT VARIABLES		
Q.21	Are you the main wage earner in the household? (RING CODES) YES NO	1 2	23
Q22	What is his/her relationship to you? (RECORD)		
Q.23	What is your/his/her occupation? (Description of job, industry sector; if not in full time work, record this information about last job).		
Q.24	(QUESTIONS 24 - 41 TO BE ASKED IN THE CONTEXT OF THE MAIN WAGE EARNER)		
a)	Are you employed by someone else?		
b)	Are you self-employed?		
c)	Or do you work without pay in a family business or firm? (RING CODES) (a) (b) (c)	 1 2 3	

		CODE	S/T
Q. 25	Are you owner or part-owner of this firm? (RING CODES) YES NO	 1 2	
Q.26	How many people are employed in this business or firm on a permenant basis? (RECORD APPROXIMATE FIGURE IF NOT KNOWN)		
Q.27	This question concerns policy making at your workplace, that is, making decisions about such things as the products or services delivered, the total number of people employed, budgets and so forth. Do you participate in making these kinds of decisions or even provide advice about them. (RING CODES) YES NO	 1 2	
Q.28	(GIVE CARD H) Are you personally involved in any of the following decisions including providing advice about them? (RING CODES) (a) (b) (c) (d) (e) (f) (g) (h) (LIST)	 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	
Q.29	(GIVE CARD I) Do you participate in making decisions in any of these ways? (RING CODES) (a) (b) (c) (d)	 1 2 3 4	
Q.30	Which of the following describes the position which you hold within your business or organisation? Would it be (RING CODES) Managerial position Supervisory position Non-management position	 1 2 3	31 31
Q.31	Would that be a top, upper, middle or lower managerial position? (RING CODES) Top Upper Middle Lower	 1 2 3 4	

		CODE	S/T
Q. 32	As an official part of your main job, do you supervise the work of other employees or tell other employees what to do? (RING CODES) YES NO	 1 2	
Q. 33	How many people do you directly supervise? (RECORD)		
Q. 34	(IF ONLY ONE) What are the main activities of this subordinate? (RECORD DETAILS)		
Q. 35	Do any of your subordinates have subordinates? (RING CODES) YES NO	 1 2	
Q. 36	(GIVE CARD J) Are you responsible for any of the following? (RING CODES) (a) (b) (c)	 1 2 3	
Q. 37	(GIVE CARD K) Do you have any responsibility for any of these sanctions which could be imposed on subordinates? (RING CODES) (a) (b) (c) (d)	 1 2 3 4	
Q. 38	Is yours a job in which you are required to design important aspects of your work and to put your ideas into practice? (RING CODES) YES NO	 1 2	

		CODE	S/T
Q. 39	Can you give me an example of how you design your own work and put your ideas into practice? (RECORD)		
Q.40	(GIVE CARD L) Do you have any of the qualifications or have you passed any of the type listed on this card, whether you are making use of them or not? (RING CODES) Obtained Number of Subjects		
	a) CSE Grade 1	00	
	Grades 2-5	01	
	b) Grades 2-5		
	c) GCE 'O' Level	02	
	d) GCE 'A' Level or Higher School Certificate	03	
	e) GCSE	04	
	f) Recognised trade apprenticeship	05	
	g) Clerical and commercial qualifications	06	
	h) City and Guilds	07	
	i) OND, ONC, BEC/TEC, National/General Certificate/Diploma	08	
	j) HND, HNC, BEC/TEC, Higher Certificate/Diploma	09	
	k) Nursing qualifications	10	
	l) Teaching qualifications	11	
	m) University or Polytechnic diploma	12	
	n) University or CNAA First degree	13	
	o) University or CNAA Higher degree	14	
Q.41	Are these qualifications related to your work or to work which you have done? (RECORD DETAILS)		
Q.42	Gender? (RING CODE)		
	MALE	1	
	FEMALE	2	
Q.43	Are you married, single, widowed or divorced? (RING CODES)		
	MARRIED	1	
	SINGLE	2	
	WIDOWED	3	
	DIVORCED	4	
	SEPARATED	5	
Q.44	Are you a member of a trade union or a staff association or have you ever been? (RING CODE)		
	YES	1	
	NO	2	

		CODE	S/
Q.45	Have you ever ..... (RING CODE) attended a T.U. meeting? been on strike? stood on a picket line?	 1 2 3	
Q.46	Are you a member of a political party, (RECORD) or have you ever been?		
Q.47	Generlly speaking, do you think of yourself as a supporter of any political party? (RING CODE)		
	a) Which one? (RECORD) YES NO	 1 2	
	b) Do you think yourself as a little closer to one potitical party than to others? YES NO	 1 2	
	Which one? (RECORD)		
	c) If there were a general election tomorrow, which party do you think you would be most likely to support? (RECORD)		
Q.48	(GIVE CARD M) Here is a list of income ranges (EXPLAIN IF NECESSARY). Would you mind indicating which income range your total household income belongs to. (RING CODE)		
	TOTAL NET HOUSEHOLD INCOME a) b) c) d) e) f) g) h) i) j)	 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10	
Q.49	Do you own a car or do you have use of a car? (RING CODE) YES NO	 1 2	

		CODE	S/I
Q.50	If there were a general election tomorrow, which party do you think you would be most likely to support? (RECORD)		

APPENDIX C SHOWCARDS

CARD A

A) The government should do more to help low income families to buy their own homes.

B) People complain too much about homelessness and bad housing conditions.

C) It is very important that the government put more money into housing single parents.

D) Council rents are too low and should be increased.

E) The government should spend more on housing for the elderly.

F) Basically, people get the sort of housing they deserve.

G) Government subsidies for high income homeowners are unfair.

H) The state takes too much responsibility for people's housing.

I) The government should do more to help those living in poor housing conditions.

J) The government should give no help to people who find it difficult to keep up their mortgage payments.

K) Ordinary people should have more of a say in the lending policies of building societies.

L) The sale of council housing should not be allowed.

M) Elderly people who live in residential homes should have more of say in the way they are run.

N) Landlords provide a high standard of service for their tenants.

O) It is very important that council tenants have more control over the way their estates are managed.

P) The way in which building society managers treat clients is satisfactory.

Q) Council housing would be more desirable if people had more choice about the sort of housing they could get.

R) Council estates are pleasant places to live in.

S) Councils generally give a poor standard of maintenance and repairs.

T) People who rent their homes complain too much about their landlords.

CARD B

A) Private medical care gives people who can pay an unfair advantage.

B) Spending on the N.H.S. has gone too far and should be cut back.

C) The government should do more to help families on low incomes get private medical treatment.

D) The N.H.S. has enough doctors and nurses.

E) Families on high incomes get too much out of the N.H.S.

F) Prescription charges should be increased for all.

G) It is important that money be put into cancer screening for women.

H) The N.H.S. takes too much responsibility for the care of elderly people.

I) It is important that doctors should be encouraged to work in deprived areas.

J) Women who want abortions should be encouraged to pay for them privately.

K) The N.H.S. is something that people don't feel very involved in.

L) People complain too much about the service they get in the N.H.S.

M) There are not enough female doctors and consultants in the N.H.S.

N) The N.H.S. has a fair complaints procedure.

O) Doctors are frequently out of touch with the interests of their patients.

P) It is very important that doctors and consultants should have the biggest say in the way the N.H.S. is run.

Q) It is very important that people who use the N.H.S. can see the doctor of their choice.

R) Doctors and consultants always know what is best for patients.

S) The general public needs more information about the services which are available in the N.H.S.

T) N.H.S. hospitals have a high standard of service.

CARD C

A) Child benefit
B) Family Income Supplement
C) National Insurance Retirement Pension
D) Supplementary Pension
E) Supplementary Benefit
F) N.I. Sickness Benefit
G) Unemployment Benefit
H) Housing Benefit
I) State Earnings Related Pension
J) Maternity Allowance
K) Attendance Allowance
L) Invalidity Care Allowance

CARD D

A) The government should do more to help those on low incomes to get private pension schemes.

B) People complain too much about poverty.

C) The government should take more responsibility for the financial well being of elderly people.

D) People who receive social security benefits should be encouraged to work for them.

E) It is important that income and wealth be redistributed in favour of the poor.

F) People who leave work of their own accord should not be entitled to benefits.

G) It is very important that child benefits are paid to mothers as this gives them financial independence.

H) Benefits for the unemployed are too high and discourage people from finding jobs.

I) Benefits for the unemployed are too low and cause hardship.

J) Social security benefits cause bad feeling between taxpayers and the people who get them.

K) People who receive unemployment benefits are treated like second class citizens.

L) The government does the best it can to inform people of their rights to benefits.

M) Most people would prefer to have a private pension scheme as this would allow more choice.

N) The way in which the social security system is run is satisfactory.

O) The social security system is something that people don't feel very involved in.

P) The government knows what is best for people who receive social security benefits.

Q) The social security system interferes too much in peoples lives.

R) People who receive social security benefits complain too much about the service they get.

S) Ordinary people need more information on the way the social security system works.

T) The social security system has a fair complaints procedure.

CARD E

A)	Good	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Bad
B)	Unfair	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Fair
C)	Necessary	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unnecessary
D)	Wasteful	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Productive
E)	Positive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Negative
F)	Ineffective	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Effective
G)	Flexible	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Bureaucratic
H)	Passive	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Active
I)	Efficient	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Inefficient

CARD F

A)	Good	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Bad
B)	Unfair	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Fair
C)	Necessary	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unnecessary
D)	Negative	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Positive
E)	Dynamic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Stagnant
F)	Inefficient	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Efficient
G)	Liberating	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Restricting
H)	Ineffective	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Effective
I)	Active	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Passive

CARD G

A)	Good	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Bad
B)	Unfair	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Fair
C)	Necessary	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unnecessary
D)	Ineffective	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Effective
E)	Democratic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Undemocratic
F)	Bureaucratic	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Flexible
G)	Liberating	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Restricting
H)	Negative	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Positive
I)	Active	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Passive

CARD H

A) Decisions to increase or decrease the total number of people employed in the place where you work.

B) Decisions to significantly change the products, programs or services delivered by your organisation.

C) Decisions to change the policy concerning the routine pace of work or the amount performed in your workplace as a whole or some major part of it.

D) Decisions to significantly change the basic methods or procedures of work used in a major part of your workplace.

E) Decisions concerning the budget at the place where you work.

F) (IF YES TO BUDGET DECISIONS) Decisions concerning the overall size of the budget.

G) General decisions about the distribution of funds within the overall budget.

H) Any other kinds of decisions important for the workplace as a whole.

CARD I

A) Make the decision of your own authority.

B) Participate as a voting member of a group which makes the decision.

C) Make the decision subject to approval.

D) Provide advice to the person that actually makes the decision.

CARD J

A) Deciding the specific tasks or work assignments performed by your subordinates.

B) Deciding what procedures, tools or materials your subordinates use in doing their work.

C) Deciding how fast your subordinates work, how long they work or how much work they have to do.

CARD K

A) Granting a pay rise or a promotion to a subordinate.

B) Preventing a subordinate from getting a pay rise or promotion because of poor work or misbehaviour.

C) Firing or temporarily suspending a subordinate.

D) Issuing a formal warning to a subordinate.

CARD L

Obtained Number of Subjects

A) CSE Grade 1
Grades 2-5
B) Grades 2-5
C) GCE 'O' Level
D) GCE 'A' Level or Higher School Certificate
E) GCSE
F) Recognised trade apprenticeship
G) Clerical and commercial qualifications
H) City and Guilds
I) OND, ONC, BEC/TEC, National/General Certificate/Diploma
J) HND, HNC, BEC/TEC, Higher Certificate/Diploma
K) Nursing qualifications
L) Teaching qualifications
M) University or Polytechnic diploma
N) University or CNAA First degree
O) University or CNAA Higher degree

CARD M

	Yearly				Weekly		
A)	0	-	2,000	A	0	-	40
B)	2,000	-	4,000	B	40	-	80
C)	4,000	-	6,000	C	80	-	120
D)	6,000	-	8,000	D	120	-	160
E)	8,000	-	10,000	E	160	-	200
F)	10,000	-	12,000	F	200	-	240
G)	12,000	-	14,000	G	240	-	280
H)	14,000	-	16,000	H	280	-	320
I)	16,000	-	18,000	I	320	-	360
J)	18,000 +			J	360 +		